

HITCHENS ON ANTI-AMERICANISM ■ WAL-MART'S RACKET

JANUARY 19, 2004

The American Conservative

THE ANOINTED

Can the Democrats' heir apparent go the distance?



**War on Christmas
Two-State Solution
Return to Motown**

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DEAN'S RADICALISM

Martin Sieff's piece (Dec. 15) is remarkable for what it omits. Sieff tries to show that Howard Dean differs from Eugene McCarthy by claiming that McCarthy was engaged in a "*kulturkampf* against the American mainstream," while Dean is described as "campaigning as a middle-class moderate." What Sieff avoids mentioning is that Dean, while governor of Vermont, did something far more radical than McCarthy could even have contemplated: signed off on gay civil unions. With one stroke of the pen, Dean contributed to the radical position in the real *kulturkampf* now taking place. If the Republican campaign strategists wanted to, they could destroy his candidacy easily by constantly calling public attention to this fact. Should they refuse, not only will they probably lose the presidential election, but they will accomplish something far more portentous in the not-so-long run: drive home the false impression that civil unions represent moderation rather than social radicalism.

JONATHAN CHAVES
Washington, D.C.

SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE

I commend Owen Harries on a brilliant article (Nov. 17). Nevertheless, I contest the notion that the war in Iraq marks a break with conservative principles, if conservatism refers to the preservation of tradition.

There are three fields to consider: public relations in the United States, domestic policy in Iraq, and American international policy. When the administration markets war to the American people, it always trumpets the ideals of equality and freedom; this is a tradition. Second, the priority in Iraq is to create a U.S.-friendly secular state that gives power to conservative elements as opposed to the Islamic fundamentalists. Third, the international strategy follows the tradition of the British empire, which used force to compel states that had no other reason to adopt British

values. Transient though British power was, it stamped the world forever with the English language, European ideas and religion, and an influence that is now paying dividends back to the mother country.

MICHAEL FAINELLI
Via e-mail

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

While I am a moderate-to-liberal Democrat, I nonetheless have come to admire *The American Conservative* for its editorial objectivity, independence, and concomitant service as the voice of America's true conservatives. Your publication was in the minority in challenging the Iraq debacle and in identifying its genesis in the misguided Wilsonianism of the neoconservatives. Few of the current Democratic candidates had sufficient political resolve to voice an objection to the escapade lest they ruffle the feathers of their potential constituents. Keep up the excellent work.

ERIC J. SMITH
Pontiac, Mich.

THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY

As a new subscriber to your publication and regular reader since its inception, I am troubled by Michael S. Rose's review of Robert Spencer's *Onward Muslim Soldiers* (Dec. 15).

Rose is highly sympathetic to Spencer's thesis that the West is threatened by Islam itself and not simply a radical interpretation of the religion. Rose and Spencer both profess a deep commitment to Christianity but, ironically, borrow ideas for their anti-Islam polemics from anti-religious figures such as Ibn Warraq and the late Pim Fortuyn. Ibn Warraq is affiliated with the Center for Inquiry and the Center for Secular Humanism. These two groups oppose all religious traditions and reject the existence of God. Warraq's book titles include *Biblical Errancy*, *Deconstructing Jesus*, and *The Christ Myth*.

Christian believers must ask themselves whether siding with atheists in a

turf battle with Islam is better than engaging in dialogue with God-conscious and moderate Muslims. American Muslims such as I are vital agents in the preservation of moral values in our country. We seek not power or domination; rather, we envision the strengthening of the ideas, values, and institutions that have produced America's greatness. Dialogue and engagement—not religious chauvinism—are part of a mature and wise response.

ARIF RAFIQ
Greenvale, N.Y.

SELLING OUT THE BASE

Doug Bandow raises valid criticisms of the GOP version of Big Government (Dec. 1). The \$400 billion drug entitlement will come back to haunt us, and there is a scary popular discussion among kibitzers such as Newt Gingrich that it is time for the GOP to act like a "majority party" by imitating the big spending of the Democrats to buy off constituent groups. What can conservatives do?

GOP leaders gamble foolishly. Even in the age of wall-to-wall TV ads, the intensity of supporters is critical. When Republicans won their majorities in 1994, it was because of the intensity factor that built up the GOP turnout. If the GOP leadership thinks that conservatives cannot vote for Howard Dean, they are mostly right. If they think the threat of Dean alone is sufficient to scare people into working hard for the GOP, they are mostly wrong. Conservatives have carried water for the elephant for decades, and they have a right to expect that GOP governance will follow GOP principles. If the leaders think their new friends at the AARP will turn out the Republican vote, they have a big surprise coming in November.

MARK Q. RHOADS
Falls Church, Va.

The American Conservative welcomes letters to the editor. Submit by e-mail to letters@amconmag.com or by mail to 1300 Wilson Blvd., Suite 120, Arlington, VA 22209.



UPI

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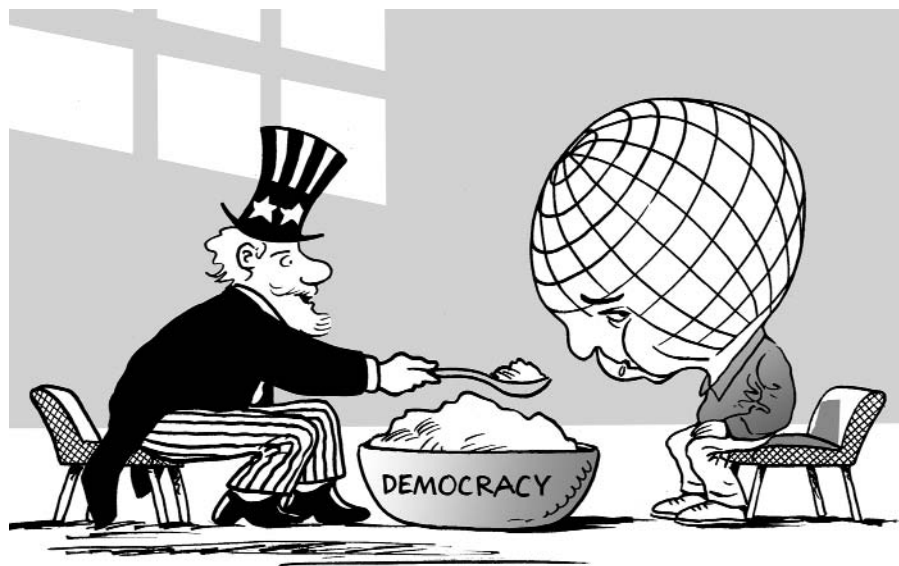
KEEPING THE COVENANT

"Marriage in the United States shall consist only of the union of a man and a woman. Neither this Constitution, nor the Constitution of any State, nor State or Federal law, shall be construed to require that marital status or the legal incidents thereof be conferred upon unmarried couples or groups." Thus reads the proposed Federal Marriage Amendment to the Constitution, presented for Senate consideration on Nov. 25.

Conservatives are sensibly reluctant to alter the fundamental law of the land. Where others grab for the radical remedy, the Right looks to legislation, and to the states. But, as Burke famously wrote, "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation." As the married family is the foundation of society—and given the threat it confronts in same-sex unions—rarely has the Burkean burden been so perfectly met.

The federalist instinct is sound, and were the Founders' constitutional order in good health, it would rise to the challenge. Federalism, however, depends on the principle of subsidiarity: that the government closest to the people best understands their problems and responds to their concerns. It is not a license for unaccountable state courts to act as agents of social change. The family joins the nationwide endangered-species list not by popular demand but by the whim of the Massachusetts judiciary. Back of that is the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Lawrence v. Texas*, which overturned a state sodomy law and threatens to do for same-sex unions what *Griswold* did for abortion.

Federalists who oppose this amendment make an ideological fetish of a political principle, a mortal conservative sin. The text is far from perfect and may leave loopholes for civil unions—marriages in all but name and equally dam-



ARCADIO ESQUIVEL www.caglecartoons.com

aging. Even so, its first sentence is strong, and its passage would mark a resolute first step toward curbing the courts, defending the family, and restoring constitutional self-government.

[DIPLOMACY]

BREAKING THE MIDEAST IMPASSE

When Colin Powell announced he would meet the framers of the unofficial Geneva Middle East peace accords, Israel snapped. Said the vice premier, "He is not helping the process. ... This a wrong step by a representative of the American administration." Powell snapped back: "[A]s ideas emerge, from whatever source, it seems to me not inappropriate to ... see what they are saying and take it into account." President Bush publicly concurred, as did Russia and the EU.

Times are tough for Ariel Sharon. His second-term polls have never been lower, Likud dissenters speak out, and his closest allies grow weary of his obstructionism. The *New York Daily News* quotes an unnamed U.S. official as saying the president "doesn't get Sharon's foot-dragging." But the solution to all, however difficult, is at hand—push the road map, dismantle the settlements—if Sharon is statesman enough to follow through.

[ALLIES]

ONE WAR AT A TIME

At the height of the Civil War, England threatened the divided nation with an external conflict if Lincoln didn't surren-

der Confederate emissaries seized from the British steamer *Trent* by the Union. President Lincoln wisely cautioned, "One war at a time." That advice still holds.

Remember Afghanistan, buried on page A23 by the invasion of Iraq? Beyond the capital of Kabul—just barely under the control of America and her allies—Taliban elements have regrouped, and poppy cultivation has increased 30-fold since 2001. More troops are needed to stabilize the country, but we're otherwise engaged.

NATO has already contributed men and matériel and would be an obvious source for more aid. Secretary General Lord Robertson has called for doubling the organization's troop commitment to Afghanistan. But NATO is now under pressure to take part in the occupation of Iraq, where Britain also has forces invested. At the Dec. 1 meeting in Brussels, where Robertson said that NATO's credibility is on the line in Afghanistan, Poland and Spain urged the alliance to send troops to Iraq.

There is no simple solution, but there is a clear lesson. Fighting an unnecessary war while a more important one is ongoing amounts to unthinkably bad strategy, folly on an imperial scale.

[ECONOMICS]

STEP ASIDE, STEELERS

When he enacted tariffs to save an American steel industry struggling to survive foreign dumping, President Bush became Pittsburgh's hometown hero. He was set to run the table on Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia.

But then he changed course. Under threat of a European trade war and pressure from free-traders, the president proved he has no steel in his spine.

Long before the official announcement, there was word on the wind that the tariffs would soon be past tense. Team Bush couldn't have picked a worse time to go trawling for campaign cash in Steel City, but ducking a scheduled drop-by would have sent the wrong signal. So the White House spin shop tried a different tack. Rather than avoiding the steelworkers likely to experience a much colder Christmas next year, the president offered greetings to "Knowledge City." As in the four-time Super Bowl Champion Knowledge City.

We get the joke: in the free-trade fantasy calloused hands that built the furnaces of industry get manicured for the Information Age, and everyone lives happily ever after. The city that steel built turns bookish. But Pittsburgh isn't buying that line. "He got my vote the first time," one union man told ABC News. "The second time, he won't."

[EUROPE]

IMPORTING ANTI-SEMITISM

Conventional wisdom holds that there is a "rising tide of anti-Semitism" in Europe. For the hawkish Right, this useful notion—conjuring as it does still-raw memories of Kristallnacht and Nuremberg Laws—helps discredit those erstwhile allies opposed to unprovoked invasions. It is an old American stereotype: a Europe forever in thrall to atavistic hatred, violence, and despotism. On the Continent, one is led to wonder, is it 2003 or 1933?

The spike in anti-Semitic incidents—synagogues burned in France, Jews assaulted in Berlin—is disturbing, and indisputable. What can be disputed, however, is its source and cause. Enter the European Monitoring Center on

Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which commissioned a study of the new anti-Semitism, and then suppressed the report. Typical of a European establishment ever on alert for resurgent fascism, but which never notices "former" Communists actually in power, the EUMC expected to, in the words of "Casa blanca's" Vichy policeman, "round up the usual suspects."

Instead, the censored report pointed to Muslim newcomers and, to a lesser degree, pro-Palestinian leftists engaged in rhetorical overstretch. According to study co-author Juliane Wetzel, "it singled out the group (young Muslims), which they (the EUMC) seek to protect." "It would have been very much easier," says Wetzel, "to have only the right wings," but "because [the report] clashed with political correctness," down the memory hole it went.

The study also found the timing of the "new wave" significant: it began in 2000, with the start of the second Palestinian *intifada*. "New," then, turns out to be the perfect epithet, the perpetrators having no connection to historic European anti-Semitism, racial or religious. There is an historical irony here. Rejecting ethnic chauvinism, Europe opened her borders, but thus did she import the Arab-Israeli conflict and again put the Jews at risk.

[CULTURE]

RUBBER TO THE ROAD

L'affaire Lewinsky introduced a new vocabulary to the nation's front-pages, and in D.C. it's as if the king never left the building. But mixing sex and government isn't limited to the Oval Office. You can now do it at the DMV.

According to the interim director of the District's HIV/AIDS Administration, free condom dispensers will soon be "as common as water fountains" in Washington city government offices, and lest anyone think bureaucrats are having all

the fun, agencies frequented by the public will get special attention. (D.C. already has a program to distribute condoms to beauty salons, nightclubs and, of course, public schools.)

The *Washington Post* reports that the city plans to give away 550,000 male condoms, 45,000 dental dams, and 30,000 female condoms. Before NOW reaches full shriek about the disparity, the *Post* points out that "male condoms cost the city less than a nickel apiece, and the female condoms cost several dollars each."

The plan is billed as AIDS prevention. But will it work? Not likely. The failure rate for male condoms is 12 percent; female condoms are even less reliable. So figure thousands of failures and that many more random experiences courtesy of the District's handy dispensers. Not only is Mayor Anthony Williams wasting taxpayers' money, he's gambling with lives.

[IMMIGRATION]

PULLED OVER

Governor Schwarzenegger is flexing his muscles. The political kind. After promising to repeal the law that granted drivers' licenses to illegal immigrants, the new governor made good. Under pressure from his office and the threat of a ballot initiative by the group that sponsored the recall, the Democratic senate and assembly buckled. When they felt the heat, they saw the light.

Proponents of immigration reform have long argued that this is a winning issue for Republicans. The swift capitulation of California's Democrats proves the point. And this is no time to go wobbly. There are concerns that Schwarzenegger may not have taken his victory to heart—his spokesmen have indicated that he might support licenses for illegals if background checks and other security measures are part of the process.

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To paraphrase Joseph Fouché, that would be worse than a crime. It would be a mistake. Californians, like the majority of Americans, do not want to extend the trappings of legality to those whose first act on U.S. soil was a transgression of our law—and they are willing to throw from office politicians who think otherwise.

[OCCUPATION]

FOR YOUR OWN GOOD

“The only thing they understand is force,” Capt. Todd Brown, a company commander stationed in the Sunni Triangle, told the *New York Times*. As if to prove his point, his men have locked down the town of Abu Hishma and wrapped it in razor wire. A sign reads, “This fence is here for your protection. Do not approach or try to cross, or you will be shot.” So much for spreading freedom.

After a bloody November, the *Times* reports that American forces are employing a new get-tough strategy: imprisoning relatives of suspected insurgents, leveling buildings where they might hide, and forcing villagers to pass through checkpoints. These tactics are familiar. Israel honed them in Gaza and the West Bank, and American officers have traveled there for tutoring.

“With a heavy dose of fear and violence ... I think we can convince these people that we are here to help them,” said Lt. Col. Nathan Sassaman. The more obvious message—one clear in the Palestinian case—is that caged people are more likely to snarl back than to be subdued.

[CHRISTMAS]

REASON FOR THE SEASON

In enslaved Narnia, wrote C.S. Lewis, “It is always winter and never Christmas.” As much could be said of multicultural America, suffering the dreary dictatorship not of black magic but of political

correctness. There are brave holdouts who persist in wishing strangers a Merry Christmas, even as their cherished holy day dissolves more each year into a non-specific catch-all “holiday.” So much has the culture deteriorated, in fact, that “Merry Christmas” is now not only rare but also self-conscious.

Tom Piatak, later in this issue, chronicles the PC Left’s War on Christmas. Little did we know when we commissioned the piece that *TAC* was on the wrong side—until concerned readers pointed out our Nov. 17 cover-wrap, which advertised “A thoughtful Holiday Gift” and a “Special Holiday Offer!” No mention of Christmas.

At any magazine, there is a certain separation of powers between the editorial and business departments. Subscription advertising belongs to the businessmen, and we tend to defer to their judgment. The judgment here, however, reflected a desire not to offend non-Christians, which is too multiculti for our tastes. Though not a journal of theology, *TAC* defends America’s historic Christian culture and advances a traditional, Christian perspective—one appreciated by the serious non-Christians among our readers. Some editors saw the ad’s text in late summer and, not yet in the Christmas spirit, allowed it to slip through. We apologize for our error and, belatedly, wish everyone a Merry Christmas. ■

Christmas issue

The American Conservative will publish its next issue in four weeks instead of the usual two. Our editorial offices will reopen Jan. 5.

Decline and Fall of the Dollar

With the U.S. economy posting an 8.2 percent growth rate in the third quarter, President Bush appears to have timed his tax cuts for maximum benefit in 2004.

All systems are go for the election year. The deficit could hit \$500 billion, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan is holding interest rates at 1 percent, money is plentiful and cheap.

Though manufacturing jobs vanished for the 40th month in a row in November, the jobless rate seems certain to shrink over the next 12 months. Happy days are here again.

But there is an ominous cloud on the horizon. The dollar is in a sickening decline, having lost nearly half its value against the euro. The price of gold has risen from around \$260 an ounce to \$400.

To the Alfred E. Newman Economic Club, this is excellent news. A falling dollar, they say, makes exports cheaper and imports more expensive, thus aiding U.S. producers and easing the pressures for protectionism—which is like celebrating the loss of an arm because one can buy shirts cheaper.

A falling currency is the mark of a failing country. Our falling dollar reflects fading confidence in the administration's ability to manage America's household. And there are sound reasons to be worried about the management of our financial accounts.

This year, the United States will run two immense deficits. Our merchandise trade deficit and U.S. budget deficit will each hit 5 percent of GDP. Americans are borrowing 10 percent of GDP to finance present consumption. With our anemic savings rate, we must borrow from foreigners to maintain our binge

buying at the malls.

Like inflation, devaluation is theft, the clandestine confiscation of a people's wealth by their own government. And when any currency sinks, there are strategic as well as economic consequences.

U.S. citizens, robbed of their wealth, lose faith in government. U.S. aid dollars do not go as far. U.S. troops abroad find their lives harder. It costs more to maintain troop levels in the field. America cannot run an empire on a collapsing currency. Just ask the Brits.

Today, oil is priced in dollars. When the euro was worth 83 cents, a few years back, it took 36 euros to buy a barrel of oil at \$30. Today, a \$30 barrel can be bought for 24 euros. OPEC, feeling itself cheated, could raise the price of oil, raising gas prices here and dealing a blow to the U.S. recovery.

The greater danger is that foreign central banks that hold \$1 trillion in U.S. Treasury bonds will start shedding them. Any such dumping could force Treasury to raise interest rates to attract new borrowers to finance our twin deficits, cutting off recovery.

It is hard to see an early or painless end to the process that has set in. As this cancer eats up our wealth, the world, seeing the United States unable to stop creating new dollars, will continue to sell them off.

In Washington, spending is out of control. Republicans compete with Democrats in voting pork and creating new programs. Bush has not vetoed a single bill.

Discretionary spending is growing at rates unseen under Republican presidents. This capital city is like a reform school for delinquents where the monitors and guards have left the doors unlocked and taken the day off.

We can now see U.S. budget deficits all the way to the horizon, requiring hundreds of billions in new borrowing each year. The same holds true for our 30-year string of rising trade deficits.

In the long run, a cheaper dollar will cut the trade deficit by reducing our ability to buy foreign goods. But in the short term, a sinking dollar could send that trade deficit soaring. For we have come to depend on foreigners for 15 percent of the goods and services we buy and an even higher share of the manufactures we consume.

As with drugs, such dependencies are not easily ended.

As has been said here before, free trade is not free. The Global Economy is a system devised by Americans where other nations will play only so long as it advances their cold national interests.

Today, China, by force of will, is holding its currency to 8.2 yuan to the dollar, refusing to let it rise, though this would increase the purchasing power of Chinese workers. The Bank of Japan is buying dollars. Both are determined not to let their currencies rise. They continue to sell cheap to hold and expand their share of America's \$11 trillion market, to strip us of our remaining manufacturing.

They sacrifice the present to the future, as we sacrifice our future for the present. But the chickens of globalism are starting home to roost for George Bush and the United States of America. ■



As others slog through New Hampshire's snow, Clark rises to challenge Dean.

By Scott McConnell

NATALIE MERCHANT'S "These Are the Days" booms cheerfully from a Boston University sound system, and about 400 students sit cross-legged on the auditorium floor, awaiting John Kerry. These may be the last days of Kerry's campaign: three days hence, a Zogby New Hampshire poll will show him near single digits and perilously close to losing his long-held second-place position in a state he was once the prohibitive favorite to win.

This long and slow sinking is a painful puzzle to Carol and Maura, enthusiastic Kerry volunteers and ladies of a certain age, who are more interested in talking to me than are the two svelte sophomores to my right. They see Kerry as dignified, "a statesman," and don't understand the appeal of Dean, who is like "the guy next door" with "no record" who "shoots from the hip." Carol, just retired as a teacher and now auditing classes at BU, says she knows, having once worked for McGovern, that you just can't elect someone from the far left of the party. Maura can't get over her irritation that people are still talking about Kerry's vote for the Iraq war. "You should read the speech he gave before the vote," she advises. "Is it on the Web site?" "It should be."

The music rises, Springsteen now,

and Kerry enters. We stand to clear a path. Bright green sweater, high cheekbones, sunken eyes. He is close enough to touch, reaching out to shake hands across the aisle from me. His waist is as thin as a child's. At St. Paul's more than 40 years ago, his hockey teammates dubbed him "Keep the Puck Kerry," but it's hard to fathom how a tall man who might weigh no more than 130 pounds could have even played prep-school hockey.

He is not bad on the stump, borrowing Bill Maher's line to rip into Bush as "President Dress-Up." It is a liberal speech—indeed most of the Democratic field is running to the left of where Bill Clinton was in the 1990s. Kerry delivers a riff about the cost of Head Start versus the cost of jail, reminiscent of Jesse Jackson, and closes with an evocation of the values of the 1960s, when students ended a war, helped desegregate the South, and ignited the women's movement. A promise to ease fossil-fuel dependency with a new hydrogen institute gets applause.

After a nod at the spiraling deficit, Kerry promises to give to all Americans the kind of health-care coverage enjoyed by senators and congressmen. "Have you costed this out, Senator?" I wish someone would ask. He speaks about

the war without dwelling on it—"I know something about aircraft carriers." Kerry is trolling for volunteers to send to New Hampshire during "winter break" (formerly known as Christmas break), and his staffers seem to have gathered about 30 names by the end. Emily, one of the sophomores to my right, tells me that she likes what Kerry said about the environment and that he "lets his wife speak her mind" but is no more decided than she was an hour before.

That evening, Wesley Clark is speaking at Saint Anselm College in Manchester, a small school founded in the 1890s by the Benedictines. It is the sort of place where a prominent sign at the dining-hall entrance advertises a debate on whether contraception is morally the same as natural family planning, and as the winter's first snow begins to drop that evening, this seems like the most sublime spot on earth. Like all of southern New Hampshire, Saint Anselm is treated like a spoiled child by politicians. Presidential contenders will spend hours flattering an audience of 100 students. *Time's* Joe Klein arrives, confirmation of the event's significance. While we wait for Clark, a professor polls the crowd—perhaps six out of 100 from this conservative Catholic institution support the war policy of President Bush.

Clark seems small and, as often described, tightly wound. After a commercial touting his biography flashes on screen, he takes questions. "Is there a place for someone with pro-life views in the Democratic Party?" "Well," Clark answers, "pro-choice does not necessarily mean pro-abortion." He does not even try, as Mario Cuomo used to do rather well, to reply in such a way as to convey an understanding and appreciation of the sentiment behind the question.

Asked about affirmative action, he says he supports it, but not with the rigid numbers and formulae to which the courts have objected. In the Army, he explains, they scrutinized promotion lists to see what minorities fell just below the cut-off line, and if someone was especially deserving, he was boosted over the threshold. "With data processing, you can treat everyone as an individual," is the technocrats' answer. When the student asks if this kind of micro examination is feasible for large bureaucracies or universities, Clark simply repeats his points.

Then a question about illegal aliens, apparently from a proponent of amnesty. Clark says first that he does not favor amnesty, then goes on to describe how he would give illegals documentation, leading to green cards, starting the process toward citizenship, right away—if they are "good people." The Danish journalist sitting beside me whispers, "But that's amnesty, isn't it?" and I assure him he understands perfectly.

When the questioners shift to foreign policy, Clark raises his game. Asked how to change the American image of "international bully" that Bush has managed to create, he talks of listening and respecting public opinion in other countries. Rather courageously, he points out that Saddam Hussein did admit inspectors to Iraq and was willing to let inspections continue. He mentions, with pride, his role in going after Slobodan Milose-

vic. "I saved a million and half Albanians," he says several times that week in New Hampshire. While this is a debatable reading of the Kosovo war (ethnic cleansing didn't start until after NATO bombing began), no one minds, and Clark always finds it useful to proclaim that he is far from being an "antiwar" candidate.

After an hour and a half with the students, Clark heads off to Manchester's Alpine Club, where 100 or so middle-aged people, some well into the evening's cocktails, await him. The performance reminds me how hard politicking is—the need to give good answers all the time, even if you've said the same thing 300 times before. Gay marriage (for it), stem-cell research (for it), the deficit, the war. The next morning Clark will drive 80 miles to a day-care center in Rochester, then to Maine, and then back for a major speech at Exeter.

I lunch with Shelly Uscinski, who as a school-board member and volunteer played an important part in organizing Pat Buchanan's 1996 victory here. She brings along her new addition, two-year-old Amy, to go with three children, aged 16-28. In her view, Dean has all the

trying to snow you." A foreshadowing, perhaps, of crossover appeal in November?

That evening, Clark speaks at Phillips Exeter, and there is a buzz as the hall fills on an icy night. For me at least, the venue is historic—ascending the marble steps I trudged up a thousand times in the late 1960s, the steps where Phineas took his final fall.

Soon there are 900 people inside—a crowd of voters, not students. I sit beside a Clark supporter who doesn't give his name. Behind me, Dr. Jim Tucker, a physician with a twinkle in his eye who is still practicing in his mid-70s, tells me he leans toward Dean. "He's quick, can think on his feet."

But Clark makes an impact. The audience goes from warm to enthusiastic. Clark talks of a country in crisis, perched at a pivotal point in its history, losing jobs, retreating on the environment, and most importantly, that has launched an unjustified war without allies. He touches all the liberal bases and closes with his strength. "Will all the veterans in the audience stand up?" There are about 50 or 60. He reaches behind him for the flag, and begins to

HE TOUCHES ALL THE LIBERAL BASES AND CLOSES WITH HIS STRENGTH.

"WILL ALL THE VETERANS IN THE AUDIENCE STAND UP?"

momentum, has "sucked the energy from the other campaigns ... the others are running—but with no grassroots involved." She picks Gephardt to place second.

In fact, she rather likes Dean—though not his issue positions. "He reminds me of Pat, very bold, self-confident, his own man. While the others can give one-minute answers, Dean seems to be comfortable with his own positions ... always truthful, not like a politician

massage it. "The flag we saluted, the flag some of us died for, no Tom DeLay, no John Ashcroft, no George W. Bush will take it away from us." Applause rolls through the hall. Something about this really works—wrapping opposition to Bush and the Iraq war in the uniform and flag. One nearly forgets that Clark didn't let out a peep against the war before it began and that in the columns he wrote in March and April he might have been auditioning for the *Weekly*



UPI

Standard. My seatmate Dr. Tucker is clearly impressed. “Democrats have to wave the flag,” he says.

The next morning, at Daniel Webster College in Nashua, 150 people—mostly middle-aged—are packed into a small lecture hall to hear Clark. I’m sitting next to David Boothby, a hip software engineer who tells me that his job now consists of supervising 100 software developers in Romania. He is an active Dean supporter. “I shouldn’t even be here,” he remarks. And why is he? Simply “the electability factor.” Boothby has met Kerry, Lieberman, and Edwards without being impressed and has contributed to both Dean and Clark. Dean, he tells me, held a rousing rally of 400 people at this college three weeks ago. “The Dean campaign,” he pauses for emphasis, “is fun.” But Clark is “very electable nationwide.”

At the outset, Clark says that the election will be principally about foreign policy. He begins, as always, with job loss, the environment, the need to put more money into “the global fund” for AIDS, but this is “a foreign-policy election.” The Bush administration believes “the U.S. should stand alone at the top of the world and use force to impose its will. It is ‘all bully and no pulpit.’” It’s a good line, one he hadn’t used in the previous three venues. He touches on the issue of faith and the

alleged Republican advantage among churchgoers. But every true faith believes in charity towards the less fortunate, he says. And then, again, the flag. The veterans stand. “Our flag,” intones Clark, turning back towards it. “I’ve served under that flag ...”

During the question period, Clark talks about how he will end the American monopoly on the occupation of Iraq and put the U.S. command under NATO. “Only someone who has never seen war would say something as fatuous as ‘Bring ‘em on.’” He moves towards his close: “I’m a soldier; soldiers mean what they say. I will end the mess in Iraq ... I will defeat the terrorists.” Referring to the Republican National Committee ads airing in Iowa attacking the Democrats’ foreign-policy positions, Clark says, “I’m not attacking the president because he’s attacking the terrorists; I’m attacking because he’s not attacking the terrorists.” The Bush administration engaged in an enormous “bait and switch” to justify an attack on Iraq, he says.

As Clark wraps it up, I turn towards Dean-supporter Boothby. “I think he’s awesome,” he says. “Who would you vote for, if the primary were tomorrow?”

“THE DEAN CAMPAIGN,” HE PAUSES FOR EMPHASIS, “IS **FUN.**” BUT CLARK IS
“**VERY ELECTABLE NATIONWIDE.**”

I ask. “Clark. Oh my God. What a statement!” Boothby replies, laughing. “I’m going to burn in hell. I have this huge commitment to the Dean campaign. I’ve hosted events for them.”

Voters like Boothby and Dr. Tucker have to worry the Dean campaign. They are a sign that doubts about Dean’s electability, raised by old Clinton hands and several liberal pundits, have begun to trickle down to the most engaged New Hampshire voters. Kerry has failed to

impress; Gephardt has little to offer those who believe the war is a tragic mistake and this election’s defining issue. Ditto Edwards and Lieberman. But Clark has an open lane. It may well be, as Clark’s earlier pro-war pronouncements would seem to indicate, that his actual foreign-policy judgment is much worse than Dean’s. But buttressed by his uniform and biography, he makes an informed and compelling antiwar case now—and that may be enough.

Clark began late, and his New Hampshire staffers admit he still has a “Who is Wes Clark?” problem. He won’t have many more occasions like Phillips Exeter to speak for an hour to 1,000 voters. But he has some levers. Eric Massa, in charge of veterans outreach for Clark in New Hampshire, says there are 62,000 veterans who are registered independents and Democrats. That’s a solid quarter of the state’s primary electorate, a good base from which to build. Plainly, New Hampshire voters are willing to turn out to hear him. I left the state convinced Clark would finish a better than expected second—and is well placed to emerge as the main challenger to Dean in the next round of primaries.

Curiously, on most issues other than the war, Clark—though a military man from the South—actually runs to Dean’s left. On affirmative action, abortion, immigration, the cost of health care, he seems to have simply memorized the most liberal pages of the Democrats’ playbook, leavened with the occasional “That’s what I did in the Army.” If the election proved, surprisingly, not to be mainly about foreign policy, he would lose traction very quickly.

On Dec. 8, the race is transformed by news of Al Gore's impending endorsement of Howard Dean. I head for a round of Dean events in New York that evening—a roast emceed by Rob Reiner, formerly “All in the Family’s” Meathead and now a major Hollywood producer and a fundraising rally (\$100 entry fee) at Roseland, a Times Square dance hall. The Dean campaign, which that afternoon picked up several local endorsements, doesn’t have the same buzz it did over the summer. Dean can’t easily be both the insurgent outsider, willing to say bold and interesting things, and the frontrunner, picking up local politicians and major Democratic fundraisers while under constant scrutiny for being too far out of the mainstream.

Both events are undersold—the Roseland rally would have been great if held at Irving Plaza, a dance palace less than half the size, where Dean had a similar rally last August. Nonetheless, according to Reiner, Dean raised \$1 million in the city that day—half what the campaign thought it might but well more than any other candidate could.

The Reiner-hosted roast has its moments—the funniest line comes from Dean’s black roommate from Yale, who told the guests that while Dean had asked to room with a black student from a southern state, he had requested a northeasterner with three last names—a reference to someone in the Yale yearbook named Howard Brush Dean III.

A problem is whether the Dean campaign can be edgy and “downtown” and appeal to centrist voters at the same time. After the Roseland rally, I compared notes with an antiwar social conservative who has been an avid Dean backer for several months. She was repelled by the performances of two lesbian comediennees the campaign had enlisted to warm up the crowd. The first routine consisted mainly of mocking heterosexuals who are ignorant about

lesbian childrearing and reproductive practices. Sandra Bernhardt then came on to make some crude and cavalier jokes about abortion. “Is that the kind of thing we would have in the White House?” my interlocutor wondered.

That said, the Gore endorsement pushes Dean a long way towards the nomination, and the campaign has ample time to decide whether lesbian comedy should be part of its general-election message. But what is the message now anyway, apart from momentum, endorsements, and fundraising prowess? The stump speech is similar to



the one he was using this summer, effective but not—as other candidates have learned to go after both Bush and the war—unique.

A new Dean theme is a stress on community, in which the candidate evokes the '60s not simply as a springboard for liberal social movements but as evocation of a time when Americans understood they were part of the same country and society. It is a liberal speech, an homage to the decade’s civil-rights pilgrims and the need to care about poor schools, but there is undeveloped poten-

tial in it. What does Dean think are the main reasons America is less of a national community than it was 30 or 40 years ago? Two obvious ones are the surge of global capitalism—the mobility of capital and the outsourcing of jobs—and the huge immigration wave. More Americans don’t speak English and weren’t born here than ever before in the country’s history, and mass immigration is continuing to accelerate. No matter how much one resists racism and national or cultural chauvinism (Dean certainly does), it is not really possible to feel as much “community” with people who don’t share your language and culture as with those who do. Dean probably understands this intellectually, but to bring such a point into the political culture of the Democratic Party would be a truly bold move and is probably beyond him.

Yet one looking for some ideological crossover appeal in Dean can always find some glimmer of encouragement. Mine was this: in criticizing Bush at the Gore endorsement event, Dean said he is the “most conservative president...” but then paused to correct himself. “Bush is not a conservative; he’s a radical.”

On Dec. 9, Gore and Dean, in matching blue suits and light-blue ties, emerged from their breakfast meeting at a Harlem arts center and shoved past a scrum of reporters into a waiting SUV. The buzz was palpable: Gore’s was a transformational endorsement, elevating Dean from frontrunner to odds-on favorite. He may have really needed it—the campaign has been moving forward, but no longer surging on all cylinders (the half-empty fundraisers), and candidates like Clark are beginning to get their acts together. It is a good move for Gore as well, putting him back in the limelight. Gore’s speech struck me as remarkably good—an example, I suppose, of how war changes things. ■

[last best hope]

Two Peoples, Two States

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has only one solution.

By Leon Hadar

IT'S MARCH 2, 2010, and Sari Nusseibeh, Prime Minister of the Israel/Palestine Federation (IPF) and his deputy, Yossi Beilin, are in Washington to meet with President (Hillary) Clinton. The two are scheduled to exchange jobs in four months, when Beilin will occupy the Prime Minister's office in the joint capital of Jerusalem, a transfer of power based on the September 2007 Brussels Accord, under which the states of Israel and Palestine agreed to share political control.

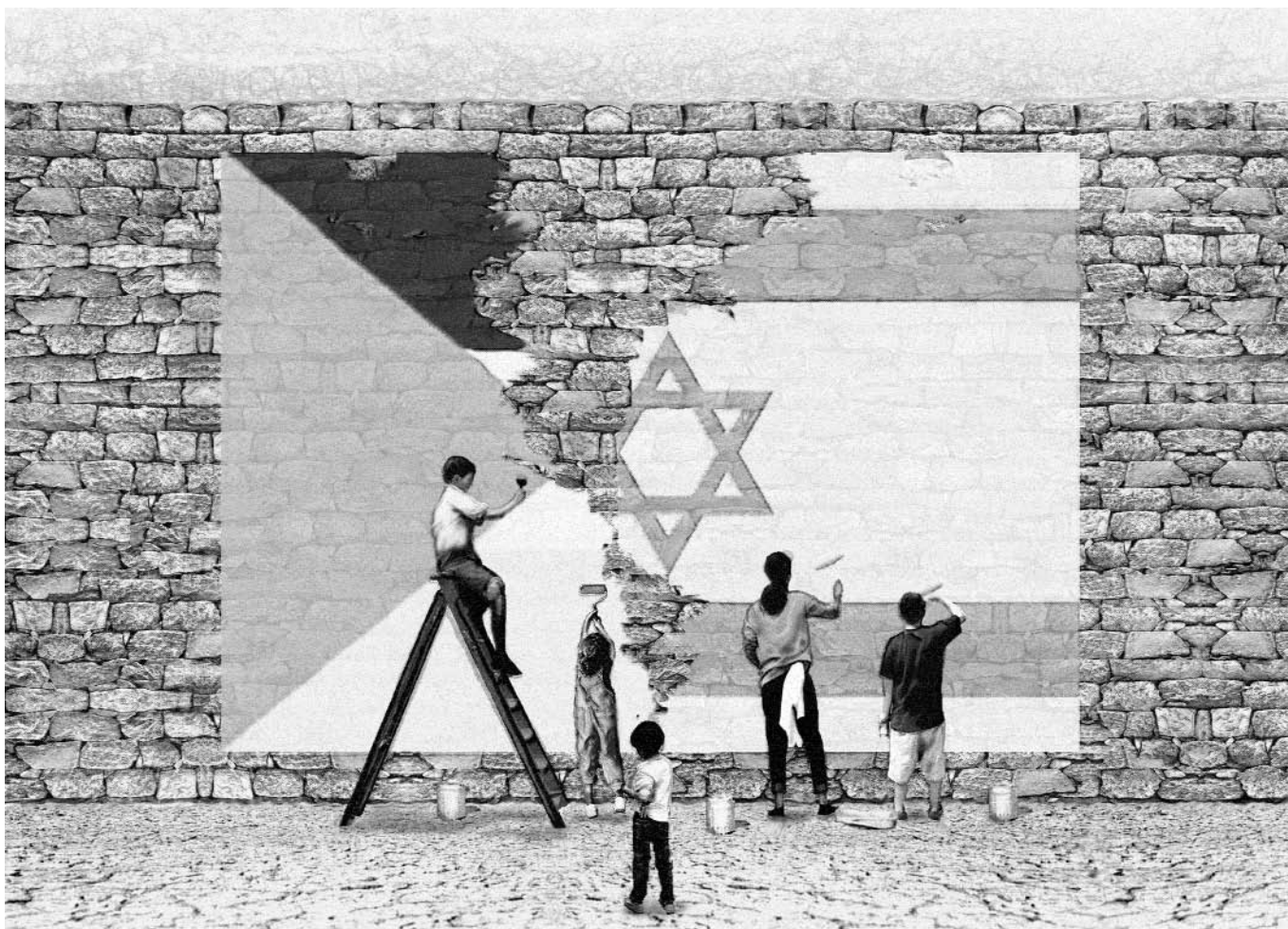
Ten years ago, at the height of the al-Quds Intifada, very few Israelis and Palestinians could have imagined the two peoples would opt to live together as citizens of the same state. In fact, at the start of the decade, much of the talk in Tel Aviv and Ramallah was about political divorce or "separation." Palestinians wanted an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and the removal of the Jewish settlements that were established in "Judea and Samaria" after 1967. Israelis hoped that a security fence would help reduce the number of suicide bombers entering Israel. But instead of bringing an end to the vicious circle of violence, the fence only perpetuated Israeli control over the West Bank by protecting the expanding number of Jewish settlements without providing security. The Palestinians were confined to a series of isolated cantons, and contrary to Israeli hopes, terrorism contin-

ued to rise, with many of the suicide-terrorist acts committed by Palestinian citizens of Israel or those who resided in the neighborhoods of Arab East Jerusalem that had been formally annexed by Israelis. The conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians was taking the form of a never-ending civil war that was devastating the two communities, where loss of lives and ruined economies, combined with a sense of hopelessness, resulted in the emigration of their best and brightest to safer and more prosperous destinations.

In October 2005, just when it looked as though the Israelis and the Palestinians were marching hand-in-hand on the road to mutual self-destruction, a political earthquake shook the *status quo*. Nusseibeh, then president of al-Quds University in Jerusalem, and several other liberal Palestinian political activists and intellectuals held a press conference in Jerusalem and demanded that they be granted Israeli citizenship like the more than one million Arabs who are citizens of Israel. "We are pressing now for equal political and legal rights within a single, democratic Israel, and we are confident that our Israeli brothers and sisters will welcome us and that together we will build a free and democratic state in which Jews and Arabs will live together in peace," Nusseibeh said.

"For two decades, all of us who gathered here were the leading proponents

of the establishment of a Palestinian state to exist alongside Israel, the so-called two-state solution. But continued expansion of Jewish settlements has rendered the notion of an independent Palestinian homeland in the West Bank and Gaza unworkable, and the one-state solution looks more realistic," he explained. "Some of the Palestinians—about 1.5 millions Arabs who live in Haifa, Lybia, Nazareth, and Um El Fahim—are Israeli citizens who elect candidates to the Knesset and enjoy other civil rights. Then there are about 250,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem who are residents of Israel but don't have Israeli citizenship. And of course, there are close to 3.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, under military occupation, who need permits to visit family members in neighboring villages. While the 4.5 million Palestinian refugees in the Middle East and elsewhere cannot return to Jaffa or Haifa, if Woody Allen decided to immigrate to Israel tomorrow, he would enjoy full political and civil rights, and he could live anywhere in Israel or could join the 400,000 Jewish settlers who reside in communities in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, and Gaza." Nusseibeh concluded, "The Americans portray Israel as the 'only democracy in the Middle East,' and we want them to help us win our basic civil rights as citizens of a democratic state."



BILL COOK

The rest, as they say, is history. The new civil-rights movement transformed the shape of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, winning the support of Israeli political activists and intellectuals and culminating in the June 2006 March on Jerusalem led by aging American Jewish and black civil-rights campaigners from the 1960s, demanding that Israel grant citizenship to its Arab residents in the West Bank and Gaza. Some of the speakers referred to the Federation of the Fertile Crescent (FFC) of Kurds and Arabs that was established in the former Iraq in 2004 as a model for peaceful co-existence. And now President Clinton welcomes the two in a ceremony on the

South Lawn of the White House, where many Americans hear for the first time the national anthem of the IPF, "Sing My Beloved Holy Land," which was composed by American-Israeli conductor and pianist Daniel Barneboim in memory of his late friend, the American-Palestinian scholar Edward Said. First Husband Bill Clinton, sitting in the audience, next to his old pals Yasser Arafat and Shimon Peres, could be seen shedding a tear. ...

... Yes, it's the alarm clock ringing. You had another of those sweet, sweet dreams. Israeli and Palestinian intellectuals and their colleagues in the West may have embraced a new fad, One

State for Two Peoples, the idea that Arabs and Jews could co-exist peacefully in a bi-national state in the area stretching from the Jordan to the Mediterranean Sea, Historical Palestine (the Arab view) or the Land of Israel (the Jewish perspective). If you buy into their predictions, Israelis and Palestinians are on their way to establishing a Middle Eastern Switzerland that would make Tom ("countries with McDonalds don't go to war against each other") Friedman and the other prophets of globalization proud. In the struggle between the "olive tree" (Friedman's metaphor for outdated nationalism, ethnicity, and religion), and the Lexus (which

stands for democracy, open markets, the free flow of information, people, and money), the Lexus has won. The new IPF proves it, as Friedman will probably be reporting from Tel Aviv and Ramallah in a few years. Young and hip Israelis and Palestinians are surfing the Internet, watching MTV, and making money in a new high-tech start-up in the IPF's Silicon Wadi. It's exactly what those trendy

extension its mirror-image, a Palestinian-Arab one, and joined the chorus of those advocating a bi-national state. As he sees it, the world is characterized today by a "clash of cultures" between "open, pluralist democracies and belligerently intolerant faith-driven ethno-states." Israel, he warns, risks falling into the "wrong camp." Again, if one assumes that an independent Arab Palestinian

the two nations. In this case, Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews would be citizens of respective states but may reside anywhere within the union. This would enable people to live and work freely, as prescribed by federal institutions, while electoral rights would be limited to respective national governments.

Trying to mobilize public support for the one-state solution, on Sept. 18, 2003, a group of Israeli and Palestinian academics and activists launched the Association for One Democratic State in Palestine/Israel. They note that the proposed solutions to the conflict in Palestine/Israel have failed because they were predicated upon a division of land that cannot be divided without creating further injustice. The association "is convinced that the creation of one democratic state is the only viable, long-term solution to the conflict."

Establishing a bi-national state is actually not a new scheme but an intellectual relic of the past that has been excavated by Judt and company. It was first proposed by Judah Magnes, an American-born Zionist who immigrated to Palestine in 1922, where he was involved in the establishment of the Hebrew University and served as its president. Magnes advanced a model of a bi-national state in which all would share equal rights. This was the view promoted by the group Berit Shalom (Peace Union), which Magnes helped found in 1925. But while the concept of a bi-national state was backed by a few Zionist-Marxist groups (as well as the Communist parties in the Middle East), it was rejected by the leaders of both and Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine, with the majority of the groups in the Zionist movement adopting a platform based on the partition of the country between a Jewish and an Arab state.

Following the 1967 War and the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and

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Arabs and Kurds are doing in Iraq in 2010, according to Kenan Makiyah, the Prime Minister of the FFC who recently addressed the graduating class of Cheney University in Baghdad, where Ambassador Richard Perle was in attendance. "We are all Iraqi neoconservatives now," Makiyah stated, noting that in the new Iraq the "anachronistic identities" of ethnicity and religion have disappeared. (His entire speech will be available in the new Arabic supplement of *Commentary*.)

Indeed, there is that twilight zone of Middle Eastern democratic fantasy where the Wilsonians on the Right and the Left find common ground. "In a world where nations and peoples increasingly intermingle and intermarry at will; where cultural and national impediments to communications have all but collapsed; where more and more of us have multiple elective identities and would feel falsely constrained if we had to answer to just one of them; in such a world Israel is truly an anachronism," concludes leftist historian Tony Judt, who in a recent article in the *New York Review of Books* all but dismissed the idea of an Israeli-Jewish state and by

state would probably share the kind of radical Arab nationalism and militant Islam that pervades to one degree or another all the states in the Middle East, Palestine, like Israel, is also bound to become a dysfunctional anachronism.

So it's good-bye anachronistic nation-state and hello borderless world, that is, less border between Israel and the West Bank and Gaza. Since most demographers expect that Jews in historic Palestine/Israel will fall to 50 percent by the end of the decade and to less than 40 percent by 2020, those who propose the granting of Israeli citizenship to Arabs in the occupied territories assume that a majority of the citizens of the new Israel would choose to change the exclusive Jewish character of the state. Hence, one way to square the circle of conflicting Jewish and Arab identities would to form a bi-national Israeli-Palestinian state. According to this arrangement, Israel and Palestine would each have their own institutions and elected representatives that, together, promote the interests of both nations within a central government. Alternatively, a union of states could provide another framework for co-existence, but with greater autonomy for

Gaza, a few Israelis toyed with the idea of annexing the territories while providing the Palestinians with a form of political autonomy in separate cantons or as part of a “functional” system in which the Palestinians would be residents of Israel but citizens of Jordan. But these and other models still assumed that Israel would maintain its Jewish identity as a state with the Star of David national flag and a set of laws and regulations (including the Law of Return) that gave preference to the Jewish citizens of the state and promoted its “Judaization” by encouraging immigration of Jews to Israel. Similarly, when Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) raised the proposal for a “secular and democratic state” in a Palestine, they were referring to an Arab state in which Jews would supposedly enjoy religious freedoms like the Christian Copts in Egypt or communal autonomy like the Christian Maronites in Lebanon and that would become part of the “Arab Nation” (and by extension, a member of the Arab League).

If some Israelis were offering the Palestinian-Arabs opportunity to join a Zionist Israel, Palestinians were suggesting that Israeli-Jews become part of an Arab Palestine. Those political marriage proposals were dismissed by the respective leaderships and publics on both sides, while the only two serious ideas considered were the establishment of a Jordanian-Palestinian federation (in the East and West Banks of the Jordan) or the creation of an independent Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel could then form a customs union or perhaps an economic market with its neighbor to the east.

One of the leading peace activists in Israel, Uri Avnery, who immediately following the 1967 War called on Israel to encourage the Palestinian leadership to establish an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza with its capital in

East Jerusalem, assumed that at some point an independent Palestine and Israel would take steps to form a federation of the two states or a looser confederation with a joint capital in Jerusalem. He argued that such realities as geography (the need to maintain a link between Gaza and the West Bank as well as between West and East Jerusalem), demography (the existence of a large Palestinian minority inside Israel), and economics (access to water resources, trade ties, labor movement) would make it impossible to separate the two states and that it would be in their mutual self-interest eventually to develop an economic and political union. But his underlying assumption was that a process towards political and economic integration would be evolutionary, and its pace would correlate with the level of “de-Zionization” of Israel and “de-Arabization” of Palestine. Israel would be transformed into a normal “post-Zionist” state based on secular Israeli identity that would de-emphasize its ethnic and religious ties to the Jews in the U.S. and

French, Germans, and Italians in Switzerland.

Avnery and other members of the Israeli peace camp got it right with their proposal for an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, which by the end of the 1990s was adopted by the Israeli political establishment and the international community, including the United States. At the same time, against the backdrop of the disappearance of the multinational Soviet Union, the implosion of Yugoslavia, a divorce between Czechs and Slovaks, the disintegration of Indonesia, and the tensions created by the French-separatist movement in Quebec (not to mention the rise of secessionist and nationalist movements elsewhere—Basques in Spain, Kurds in Iraq, Chechens in Russia, Kosovars in Serbia), the concept of an Israel-Palestine federation sounded more and more anachronistic.

The era of globalization and the Oslo peace process may have strengthened the influence of “post-Zionist” trends in Israeli society, especially in academia and the

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elsewhere. At the same time, the notion of a united Arab Nation would be replaced with a sense of Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian and, yes, Palestinian national identities, leading a new Middle East in which non-Arab entities such as Kurds and Israelis would be integrated. As that process accelerated on both sides, Israelis and Palestinians would be ready for a political marriage *à la* the English-speaking and French-speaking communities in Canada; the Flemish and the French populations in Belgium; and the

media, with leading intellectuals calling for the “normalization” of Israel as a secular Western nation by separating synagogue and state, modifying the Law of Return, and integrating the Arabs citizens into Israeli society. But there was certainly no sign of the emergence of a “post-Arabist” movement on the Palestinian side. And in any case, the collapse of the Oslo peace process and the start of the second *intifada* only played into the hands of more radical forces in the Israeli and Palestinian camps, with violence in

the territory between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River resembling more the civil war in Yugoslavia than the era of peaceful co-existence under Marshal Tito.

So some Palestinian intellectuals started to change the narrative, to apply another historical analogy: South Africa. In an article published in Egypt's *Al Ahram* after the collapse of the Oslo peace process, Edward Said recalled his first visit to South Africa in May 1991, "[A] dark, wet, wintry period, when Apartheid still ruled," although the African National Congress (ANC) and Nelson Mandela had been freed. "Ten years later I returned, this time to summer, in a democratic country in which Apartheid has been defeated, the ANC is in power, and a vigorous, contentious civil society is engaged in trying

called on their compatriots to adopt the one-state solution as a policy.

"One cannot unscramble an egg," Diana Buttu, a legal adviser to the Palestinian Liberation Organization, said in an October 2002 interview, referring to the way the Israeli and the Palestinian populations are intermingled. The Palestinian leaders, she said, should give up their quest for an independent state and push instead for equal citizenship in Israel and "an antiapartheid campaign along the same lines as South Africa."

Even more intriguing, was the way the bi-national idea was raising its head in some Israeli left-wing circles. In an article published in the liberal Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* titled, "Cry, the Beloved Two-State Solution," prominent Israeli figures, who have struggled for the better part of their lives to establish a fully sov-

port for a one-state solution as realism in its most basic form, the two seem to be taking part in an escape from reality. It's not only a reality in which bi-national and multinational arrangements are collapsing everywhere, it's also a reality in which, after 100 years of a clash between Zionism and Arab nationalism, there are no signs that the ideological forces of these two movements have been exhausted. If anything, those two secular nationalist movements seem to be taking more radical and atavistic forms that reflect their ethnic and religious sources. As Avnery suggests, the Zionist thrust—expansion, occupation, and settlement—"is in full, offensive swing, while on the Palestinian side, nationalism (including the Islamic version) is deepening and growing from martyr to martyr." It takes real faith to believe that these two nationalistic peoples "will give up the essence of their hopes and turn from total enmity to total peace, giving up their national narratives and being ready to live together as supra-national citizens," says Avnery, who is still committed to the two-state solution and regards the one-state idea as "utopia that is based on the vision that there is a perfect human being or that human beings can be perfected."

There is certainly no chance that the present Israeli generation, or its successor, will accept this solution, which conflicts absolutely with the ethos of Israel as it exists today. Nor are there any signs that Arab-Palestinians are ready for such an experiment, especially if one takes into consideration that the only example of bi-nationalism in the Arab world, Lebanon, proved to be a total and bloody disaster.

In fact, a bi-national state would only produce an explosive situation in which Jews would dominate the economy and most other aspects of the new state, creating a reality of exploitation. At that

NEITHER SIDE IS READY FOR SUCH AN EXPERIMENT, ESPECIALLY IF ONE TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THAT THE ONLY EXAMPLE OF BI-NATIONALISM IN THE ARAB WORLD, LEBANON, PROVED TO BE A TOTAL AND BLOODY DISASTER.

to complete the task of bringing equality and social justice to this still divided and economically troubled country," Said wrote. A long-time opponent of Oslo, he urged the Palestinians to "counteract Zionist exclusivity" by proposing "a solution to the conflict that, in Mandela's phrase, would assert our common humanity as Jews and Arabs."

Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs are locked in Sartre's vision of hell, that of "other people." But there is escape. The solution, according to Said, was "Two people in one land. Or, equality for all. Or, one person one vote. Or, a common humanity asserted in a bi-national state." Following the publication of the article, several Palestinian intellectuals

ereign Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel, expressed doubt about the feasibility and the morality of this solution. "Neither Oslo nor the separation fence nor talk about a Palestinian state can change the status quo," said Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem. "What we have to do is adapt our thinking and our concepts to this reality, to look for a new model that will fit this reality, and to ask right questions, even if they give the impression of a betrayal of Zionism; even if they give the feeling that one is abandoning the dream of establishing a Jewish nation-state in the Land of Israel."

While the Israeli Benvenisti and the Palestinian Buttu each frame their sup-

point in time, a bi-national state would be a new form of occupation that would only set the conflict on a more violent track.

Indeed, it is this scenario that demonstrates why the attempt to apply the analogy of Apartheid South Africa is so misplaced. After all, unlike the Jews of Israel, the members of the Afrikaner tribe lacked the powerful base of support that American Jews will continue to provide Israel. And in contrast to the Afrikaners, Israeli Jews will continue to benefit from the sense of guilt among Western elites that the Holocaust has produced.

There is no doubt that the Israeli repression of Palestinians will erode support for Israel among liberal and left-leaning activists in Europe and the U.S. and will polarize Israeli society. But the political power of American Jews, the memories of the Holocaust, and the rising anti-Arab sentiments in the West would allow even a diminishing majority of Jews to dominate the one state, to continue expanding Jewish settlements, and eventually to overpower the Palestinians. To put it differently, the South African conflict ended with the surrender of power by the defeated Afrikaners. There are no signs that Israeli-Jews are about to follow their example.

It's the Palestinians, unlike the blacks of South Africa who would become the main losers in this utopian scheme. "In the end," Averny writes, "we shall reach the objective: to live together in peace, side by side. ... But today the propaganda for this utopia diverts attention from the practical, immediate objective, at a time when the whole world has accepted the idea of 'two states for two peoples.'" ■

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[i have seen the past, and it works]

What's Going On?

America's musical collapse from Motown to the modern day

By R. J. Stove

Calling out around the world:
Are you ready for a brand new
beat?
Summer's here and the time is right
For dancing in the street ...
They'll be swinging, swaying,
Records playing,
Dancing in the street!

(Martha and the Vandellas, "Dancing in the Street," 1964)

DETROIT—For 30 years, I have been living a lie. The bottom has now fallen out of my world. The *raison d'être* (and possibly even, at a pinch, the *sine qua non*) of my existence proves to have been a complete myth.

Yes, folks, it is self-flagellating confession time. Turns out that—contrary to what my contemporaries and, indeed, complete strangers, have been assuring me for three decades—I was *not* the dorkiest-looking adolescent Motown fan in history.

That particular accolade remains safe with the individual, mercifully unnamed, whom a quick-reflexed publicity photographer captured in 1966 during a British tour by Motown royalty. Depicted in gloriously evocative black-and-white and described simply as belonging to a local "Tamla-Motown Appreciation Society"—quite apart from the long-forgotten prefix "Tamla," doesn't the very

phrase "Appreciation Society" now conjure up images of duffel-coats, bad teeth, and priapic lecturers on the lam from a Kingsley Amis novel?—he sports a memorably asinine grin, accompanied by coke-bottle glasses straight from the Austin Powers Academy of Understated Eyewear. He is also, this being Britain, dressed in the hourly (and doubtless justified) expectation of flash floods. He is an icon.

As an icon, he has earned a permanent place in Detroit's Motown Museum, formerly the Motown studio complex, to which I went on a pilgrimage this fall. Unless you have, as I had, a tireless driver, the place is not easy to get to. (Save for a limited and wildly uneconomic monorail system, Detroit, shall we say, "has issues" with the concept of public transportation.) But the difficulties of getting to the Motown Museum are as nothing compared to the difficulties of leaving it. For any self-respecting Motownophile, the place takes about six nanoseconds to become addictive. Now I know how *Hobbit* obsessives must feel when trapped in a shop filled with garden gnomes.

First of many surprises is the museum's smallness. Except for the "Hitsville U.S.A." sign, it looks indistinguishable from the other squat, nondescript, slightly shabby houses along West Grand Boulevard. Somehow I had

expected that the Motown Sound's palatial thunder could only have come from a building that looked like a cross between Radio City Music Hall and Mussolini's Sala del Mappamondo. Instead, it came from a rabbit warren of corridors and studios where anyone bulkier than Calista Flockhart must periodically remember to inhale or risk being trapped. Is it true what I read years back, that great art always derives from cramped surroundings?

No time for an answer to that question and scarcely even time for me to buy my admission ticket, before the uniformed majordomo—built on the lines of that former television superhero Mr. T, although beardless—makes an announcement in his cigar-stained baritone. I have trouble discerning his words, partly because of the Diana Ross warbles simultaneously being pumped through the ceiling speakers, but he seems to be saying: "Welcometomotownhitsvilleusathesoundofamerica."

To prepare me and my friend Karen (and, to my surprise, no one else: though this is a temperate Saturday morning, the staff outnumber the visitors) for the flotation tank of Motownism, the majordomo ushers us into a minuscule auditorium—approximately 40 seats—for an introductory video. You would think they could afford to transfer the introduction onto DVD instead of repeatedly using this scratchy tape, where the colors are as luridly artificial as Salvador Dali's, the vertical hold periodically malfunctions, and the sound quality suggests a car radio from about 1957 being played underwater. And yet, the intro (which lasts for less than half an hour) does its job.

There are interviews—late 1990s? It would have been nice to be told—with Motown's supremo, Berry Gordy Jr., still looking fit and energetic. Interviews with the similarly fit and energetic-looking Martha Reeves, of Martha and the

Vandellas fame. (No interviews, alas, with Marvin Gaye, who has been Otherwise Engaged ever since he lost an altercation with his gun-toting father in 1984.) Of all the interviewees, Smokey "Temptations" Robinson alone bears even the smallest sign of his calendar years. The others must have acquired the patent on Dorian Gray's preservative. But then again, before the video's conclusion, so have I.

Museum—and never did I imagine I would behold this shrine—Berry Gordy's living quarters. Almost asphyxiatingly tiny, like everything else about Ciudad Motown. The furnishings, lovingly restored to their pristine 1960s state of plastic kitsch, resemble one of those Shag cartoon books (*Around The World in 80 Drinks*, and so forth) in which an immaculately groomed, beehive-haired, slacks-wearing demoiselle

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH AMERICAN MAINSTREAM POP MUSIC AFTER MOTOWN'S GOLDEN ERA ENDED IN AROUND 1973?

Maurice Chevalier—not, it would seem, a regular Motown artiste—devoted one of his best-known songs, "Valentine," to the horror of a belated reunion with his first love, who in the interim had become a monster of ugliness. Will the Motown Museum, I wonder upon broaching its entrance, bring a similar disillusionment to me? Against the accompaniment of adult *tristesses*, whether global or trivial (on the one hand, bin Laden and Kim Jong-Il; on the other hand, my credit-card debt and my metastasizing bald spot), will those entrancing anthems from Hitsville U.S.A. sound half as good as they did when my youthful Australian memory cells, incapable of retaining quadratic equations or French irregular verbs, had no problem whatsoever in retaining every last syllable of "You Keep Me Hangin' On"?

Well, actually, they sound better than ever. I have seen the past, and it works. I have seen one wall's group portrait of the Jackson Five, while in London, being introduced to an improbably hip-looking Queen Mother. (This, I presume, is what political scientists mean by "Jacksonian democracy.") I have even seen, at the

with legs up to her armpits holds a champagne glass with one hand and changes the portable record-player's disc with the other, while from her dauntingly perfect teeth dangles Holly Golightly's spare cigarette holder. Only one incongruous element, which Shag's chic heroines would never have countenanced, obtrudes in the living room: a playpen for the Gordy offspring.

And as if the Gordy den (plus a vending machine crammed with authentic 1960s candy bars, 10 cents each) isn't a sufficient culture shock, the studios themselves are unforgettable. Yes, *the* Motown studios. As in, the actual rooms where those hits got made—including Studio A, renowned among aficionados as "The Snake Pit." You can pose in front of the original microphones. You can sit at one of the original grand pianos. You can even, almost unbelievably, touch some of the original paraphernalia sitting near the piano's music stand: an ashtray and a paper cup with distinct traces of lipstick. It is like a jam session with ghosts.

Then there's the Motown gift store. Motown beer mugs. Motown key rings. Motown baseball caps. Motown T-shirts.

Motown CDs, *naturellement*. You can even buy an ingenious *Monopoly* spoof called *Motownopoly*. ("Your hit has dropped off the charts. Go to jail, do not pass Go, do not collect \$200.") Among the bookshelves' contents: the Marvin Gaye biography *Divided Soul*, which reveals details of such gruesomely thorough cocaine use on the ever more self-destructive Gaye's part that I fail to understand how his nose did not simply fall off.

His duet partner and *princesse lointaine*, Tammi Terrell, may have been ultimately luckier in her fate than he in his. Copies of her portrait, one that I can't recall ever seeing previously, are also on sale in the store. Her brief life's story, if arguably less horrific than Gaye's, is still almost too poignant to contemplate. In 1967, while performing live in Virginia, she collapsed unconscious in Gaye's arms. The cause of her collapse: a brain tumor. Three years afterwards she died, aged 24. Not only as a performer, but also as a lady, she must have been quite something. After all, Gaye seems never to have had, or even to have sought, sex with her. And this despite the Clintonesque ebullience of Gaye's libido when faced with any other female more alluring than Grandma Moses.

Near the building's exit, a world map, where colored plastic drawing pins represent each tourist's origins. I see one visitor to the museum came all the way from Launceston, Tasmania. The mind melts down at the mystery of what conceivable attractions in Launceston, Tasmania could make any Detroit dream of a similar journey in return.

Yes, there is joy (and how!) at the Motown Museum. But there is also great sadness. I mean to say, speaking—possibly out of turn—as a mere Aussie, could someone please bring me up to speed on wotthehell-Archy-wotthehell went wrong with American mainstream pop music after Motown's golden era ended in

around 1973? It took the visual-art world centuries to decline from Rembrandt to "Jack The Dripper" Pollock. American radio has managed a similar dumbing-down, a similar auto-lobotomy, within just one generation. For Pete's sake, even (or especially) during their most impassioned vocals, Misses Terrell, Reeves, and Ross managed to keep their clothes on. Ditto Florence Ballard, Kim Weston, Mary Wells, or Motown's other *grandes dames*, an artistic feat transparently beyond Britney and Kylie and Christina and Mariah and J.Lo, whose combined range of musical expression runs the entire gamut from navels pierced to navels unpierced.

Maybe Motown erred there. Maybe it wasn't selling enough sluttishness, enough aggression, enough hate. Maybe it was selling too much elegance, too much happiness. However crude the forms that happiness sometimes took,

however periodically sharp Gordy's business deals—and you need merely watch *Standing in the Shadows of Motown* to realize that King Berry, in financing or even acknowledging Motown's session musicians, scarcely constituted a Good King Wenceslas thinkalike—the suspicion remains: Motown did more for the fabric of America's social contract than any number of racial quotas, plagiarized sermons, Marches on Washington, or orgies of black-supremacist "empowerment." A notice near the museum's exit invokes Horatio Alger. Quite right too. But of course, what could more scandalize the Entitlement Culture than that particular comparison? ■

R.J. Stove lives in Melbourne, Australia, and is the author of The Unsleeping Eye: Secret Police and Their Victims.

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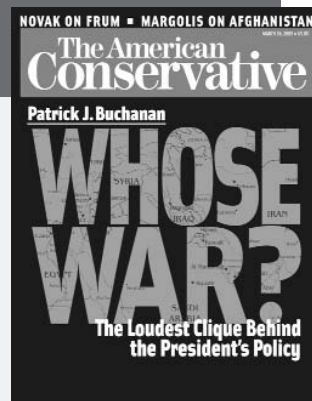
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How the Left Stole Christmas

Merry Birth of Guru Gobind Singh Day!

By Tom Piatak

"I AM SURE I have always thought of Christmas time, when it has come round—apart from the veneration due to its sacred name and origin, if anything can be apart from that—as a good time: a kind, forgiving, charitable, pleasant time: the only time I know of, in the long calendar of the year, when men and women seem by one consent to open their shut up hearts freely, and to think of people below them as if they really were fellow passengers to the grave, and not another race of creatures bound on other journeys."

These words of Scrooge's nephew describe Christmas in the America of my youth. Christmas was a special and wonderful time of year, marked by kindness and good cheer, with its myriad celebrations all viewed as ultimately stemming from the birth of the One who, in Dickens' words, "made lame beggars walk and blind men see."

Today's consensus is different. In last year's made-for-cable movie "Christmas Rush," one character wishes another "Merry Christmas," only to be told, "Gee, that is politically incorrect." And so it is. In one generation—I was born in 1964—Christmas has gone from being a widespread and joyous public celebration to the holiday that dare not speak its name. We now have "holiday trees," "holiday cards," "holiday parties," "holiday songs," and even, in one particularly egregious advertisement, a "child's first holiday." Simply put, there is now raging a "War Against Christmas," in author Peter Brimelow's trenchant phrase.

A hallmark of this war is an aggressive

multiculturalism that has elevated a variety of formerly obscure or even non-existent festivals into faux-Christmases, principally Hanukkah, Kwanzaa, and now Ramadan, but also Diwali, Bodhi Day, the Birth of Guru Gobind Singh, Dongji, and Chinese New Year. The reason for the elevation of these holidays is their proximity to Christmas, not their cultural significance or intrinsic worth. Indeed, Kwanzaa was invented in 1966, Hanukkah is traditionally a minor holiday (with no basis in the canonical Hebrew Bible), and Ramadan was virtually unknown in America until a few short years ago. Despite their recent provenance—at least as pseudo-Christmases—these holidays are now treated as coequals of Christmas, with public figures sure to pepper any of the increasingly rare mentions of Christmas with references to at least some of these others.

The desire to efface Christmas that lies behind the elevation of Hanukkah, Kwanzaa, and all the rest is illustrated by recent developments in the New York City public schools. The Thomas More Law Center is now suing the school system, which bans Nativity scenes but regularly display menorahs and Muslim crescents. Nor are the schools trying to rectify this now that their hostility to Christianity has been put in the spotlight. Instead, they are vigorously defending the ban, claiming that the "suggestion that a crèche is a historically accurate representation of an event with secular significance is wholly disingenuous." The birth of the most important figure in history carries no weight in New York City, nor does the

fact that the birth was first depicted in a crèche by another seminal historical figure, an itinerant friar from Assisi named Francis. It does not take a belief in the divinity of Christ or the sanctity of Francis to recognize their tremendous impact on the history and culture of the West. Apparently, though, the multiculturalists are eager to promote every culture but our own.

That the war against Christmas is part of a broader war against Western culture is shown by last year's winner of VDARE.com's invaluable War Against Christmas competition. The Columbus, Ohio, schools banned a performance of Handel's *Messiah*, which for the previous nine years had been the highlight of the year at a specialized school for the arts. The performance would have violated the district's religious-music policy, which came into being as the result of an ACLU lawsuit. According to the *Columbus Dispatch*, the policy stipulated that the proportion of religious music performed in concert be no more than 30 percent and that the performance of religious music be "based on sound curricular reasons" and not "manifest a preference for religion or particular religious beliefs." The educational bureaucrats who devised the policy, trying to be helpful, suggested the students perform "Frosty the Snowman" or "Jingle Bells" instead of Handel. Their ignorance and philistinism is appalling, though characteristic of those waging the War Against Christmas. After hearing *Messiah* performed in London, Haydn was moved to exclaim, "Handel

is the master of us all!" and to write his own great oratorio, *The Creation*. But, in today's climate of "sensitivity" and "tolerance," beauty and artistic merit are scarcely a sufficient warrant for exposing delicate ears to the name of Christ.

The transformation of Christmas to "holiday" and the attendant impoverishment of our culture was brought about to accommodate not the small minority of Americans who do not celebrate Christmas but the far smaller minority—comprising those of all faiths and of none—who resent the overwhelming majority who do celebrate Christmas. In my experience, most non-Christians do not resent Christmas and generally enjoy some aspects of its celebration. This sentiment was well expressed by *Philadelphia Inquirer* editor Jane Eisner's thoughtful and generous essay of December 2002, in which she explained why, as a Jew, she was bothered by the suppression of Christmas and "[t]he conflation of Christmas, Hanukkah, and now Kwanzaa ... into one big, fat indistinguishable holiday."

But the transformation of Christmas into "holiday" would not have occurred without a dedicated, active minority who resented and despised it. An upcoming film on the art-house circuit, called "The Hebrew Hammer," a spoof of blaxploitation films, features the film's eponymous hero and his sidekick, the head of the Kwanzaa Liberation Front, battling the film's villains, the sons of Santa Claus and Tiny Tim. Among the villains' acts of treachery: distributing videos of "It's A Wonderful Life," one of the greatest of all American movies and the favorite picture of both Frank Capra and Jimmy Stewart. Judging from the film's Web site, it appears that "The Hebrew Hammer" at least has the potential to be funny. But the reasons for its making are not. As the film's director, Jonathan Kesselman, told the *LA Jewish Journal*, "I asked myself, 'What as a Jew really pisses me off?' It hit

me when I was walking around a mall in December: I hate Christmastime."

This Christmas, though, you won't have to go to an art house to see a film inspired by disdain for Christmas. Disney is observing the holiday by releasing (through its Miramax subsidiary) another alleged comedy, "Bad Santa." This movie's Santa figure is shown being a drunk and having sex, is heard by other characters having anal sex, and repeatedly swears in front of children. According to the *Chicago Tribune's* John Kass, Disney is promoting this charming film with advertisements on TV featuring "a veiled reference to oral sex and an unmistakable reference to feminine hygiene" at times—such as during Sunday afternoon football games—when it would be reasonable to expect children to watch them. As Kass archly observes, "About the only thing that Santa is forbidden to do these days is mention the real reason that gifts are given in late December."

The whole point of "Bad Santa" is to mock and demean Christmas. The film's boosters say as much. George Thomas, of the *Akron Beacon Journal*, wrote in

streets on Christmas Eve), "The Bishop's Wife," and "Miracle on 34th Street." The journey from "Miracle on 34th Street" to "Bad Santa" is downhill all the way.

Kesselman has the same right to "hate Christmastime" as the rest of us do to love it, but it makes no sense to transform our culture and jettison beloved and popular traditions to appease such hatred. The malcontents and misfits who have litigated and complained to prevent such horrors as children learning how to sing "Silent Night" should not be allowed to set our course. What is needed, instead, is true tolerance, a recognition that the point of celebrating a holiday is just that—celebration—and the intent of those doing the celebrating is not to demean those who don't. As Jane Eisner wrote, "Somehow we have to learn to coexist without calling in lawyers and initiating merger talks. We have to recognize the strength and distinctiveness of each celebration, and not force equality by pretending 'I Had a Little Dreidel' is on par with the heavenly melodies of Christmas carols."

I first began thinking about this while driving to my parents' in Michigan sev-

THE TRANSFORMATION OF CHRISTMAS INTO "HOLIDAY" WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED WITHOUT A DEDICATED, ACTIVE MINORITY WHO RESENTED AND DESPISED IT.

early November, "The trailer shows this as an anti-holiday film and it could be the much needed antidote to that good-will-to-man feeling that permeates the season." It goes without saying that the great Walt Disney would never have made such a film, but neither would any of the other major studios in Hollywood's golden age. They were busy instead making such delightful films as "It's a Wonderful Life," "The Bells of St. Mary's" (the film playing in Bedford Falls as George Bailey runs down its snowy

eral years ago to celebrate Christmas. Even though I was driving on Dec. 23, I could not find Christmas music on any American radio station. Then I came across CBC 2, which was carrying nothing but Christmas music and whose announcers were regularly wishing their listeners a Merry Christmas. Their programming featured both familiar Christmas music and some gems in the seemingly inexhaustible treasury of beautiful Christmas music I had not heard before: Anne Sofie von Otter singing lovely

Swedish carols, Charpentier's beautiful *Mass for Midnight*, with its generous borrowing from French carols, and Praetorius's stunning *Mass for Christmas Morning*. The sheer beauty of the music brought home what we are in danger of losing. And that the proudly tolerant Canadians were playing such music led me to wonder why we are, instead, sanitizing our culture of any reference to Christmas.

Rather than strip the altars, we used to try to add to all the beauty surrounding Christmas, the work done earlier by Giotto, Bach, Dickens, Charpentier, Praetorius, and the village priest and organist who collaborated to give us "Silent Night." Although not quite on this level, Hollywood's classic Christmas films have stood the test of time and are still being watched and enjoyed nearly 60 years after they were made. More recently, carols such as "The Little Drummer Boy" and cartoons such as "A Charlie Brown Christmas" have enchanted us, and they still do, nearly 40 years later. We no longer make such contributions, as the focus of the Christmas season is no longer the positive one of celebrating a shared tradition but the negative one of pretending that tradition does not exist, so as not to offend those who do not share it.

The result of sanitizing Christmas is now within sight: an undistinguished, uninspiring public celebration, devoid of religious or cultural significance or indeed of beauty, with nothing left but multiculturalist pap and tawdry commercialism. I do not believe that grim fate is inevitable. But that future will indeed be ours if we remain so unnerved by the thought of giving offense to those looking for a reason to be offended that we are afraid to celebrate our own culture, tradition, and religion. ■

Tom Piatak writes from Cleveland, Ohio.

Appetite for Destruction

Neoconservatives have more in common with French revolutionaries than American traditionalists.

By Claes G. Ryn

DURING HIS RECENT VISIT to England, President Bush enunciated a "forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East." He pledged, "We will consistently challenge the enemies of reform and confront the allies of terror." The speech was yet another sign that a new and hugely ambitious foreign policy, conceived by intellectuals many years ago, is being implemented.

For those who have been the most influential in shaping the Bush administration's foreign policy, the war in Iraq was not a response to 9/11. It was a step in the execution of a long-standing plan to expand America's role in the world, especially the Middle East. In his speech to the National Endowment for Democracy, on Nov. 6, the president referred to the invasion of Iraq as "a watershed event in the global democratic revolution" and said that America needs to give the Middle East its full attention for decades to come. He not only affirmed the mentioned strategy, but also employed the ideological language in which sweeping political reconstruction had been justified from the beginning.

Though centering at present on the Middle East, this agenda is global. It existed in broad outline even before the end of the Cold War. With the implosion of the Soviet empire, Americans who had seen a need for resisting communism broke into two camps. Many liberals and conservatives felt that a national emergency was over and that America could now afford to reduce its military

and other international commitments. But some of the most ardent Cold Warriors sharply disagreed. According to them, the new historical situation presented the United States, now the only superpower, with an opportunity: America should assert its power throughout the world in behalf of democracy and capitalism. It should remove questionable regimes and other obstacles to a better world.

These Cold Warriors were mostly liberals of a special, ideologically zealous variety: many of them had come from the extreme Left. They had opposed communism because they had universalistic objectives of their own and did not want any competition. These proponents of a single model for all societies were able to form an alliance with putative conservatives, who had come to believe during the Cold War that to be conservative was always to be hawkish and assertive in foreign policy. Used to "standing up for America," these nationalistic and saber-rattling conservatives found in the cause of a better world a new outlet for their desire to exercise American power. Oddly, this coalition to remake the world became known as neoconservatism.

According to proponents of this ideology, the United States is based on universal principles and has a higher mission than all other countries. America is unique, the hope of all humanity. It should bring its principles to the rest of the world—a belief that gave rise to an

ideology of American empire. Having originated among intellectuals, the ideology reached political and journalistic maturity in the 1980s. Neoconservatives held key positions in the Reagan and Bush I administrations and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the Clinton administration. In the Bush II administration, they have wholly dominated foreign policy-making.

Neoconservatism has deep roots in the kind of anti-communist socialism of the late Sidney Hook. Its advocacy of universal principles owes much to the more conservative-appearing Leo Strauss (1899-1973) and his disciples. A refugee from Germany who taught for many years at the University of Chicago, Strauss contributed to an anti-traditional impetus by advocating an ahistorical way of thinking about the political Right. Only a universal standard for the good society deserves respect. Growing numbers of "Straussians," most of them a good deal less subtle than Strauss, formed an extensive network of markedly sectarian traits that reaches far into government. They helped spread the notion that historically evolved societies and traditions should yield to what is universally right.

THE NEW JACOBINS DIFFER FROM THE OLD IN THAT THEY HAVE APPOINTED THE UNITED STATES RATHER THAN FRANCE AS THE SAVIOR NATION.

One of Strauss's many doctoral students was Allan Bloom (1930-92), who also became a professor at the University of Chicago. Many celebrated his best-selling book, *The Closing of the American Mind*, as a defense of traditional Western values, but it was in fact a defense of Enlightenment civilization and of America insofar as it manifests that civilization. The book seemed con-

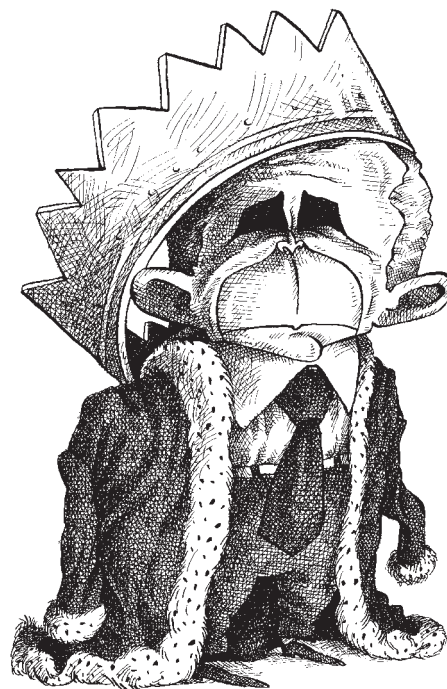
servative to careless readers because it defended this enlightened "American mind" against even more radical attacks on traditional Western civilization, specifically, those of the leftist campus extremism whose banner year was 1968. Conservatives grateful for any kind of intellectual defense of America read past Bloom's sharp attacks on "reactionaries," that is, those who were uncomfortable with Enlightenment and progressive thinking. They included Burkean conservatives and other traditional Christians and especially American Southerners, people whom Bloom called "malcontents."

Bloom's book actually exemplified just the anti-traditional, ideological universalism that is at the heart of the current push for American empire. Bloom wrote, for example, "When we Americans speak seriously about politics, we mean that our principles of freedom and equality and the rights based on them are rational and everywhere applicable."

This kind of thinking bears a strong resemblance to that of the Jacobins, who inspired and led the French Revolution of 1789. Their ideology was summed up in the slogan "liberty, equality, and fraternity." Equally universalistic

and monopolistic, they demanded that other countries change their ways. Good stood against evil. Europe was thrown into protracted wars and upheaval.

The new Jacobins differ from the old in that they have appointed the United States rather than France as the savior nation, but, like the old Jacobins, they have no deep attachment to the actual,



historically formed nation in which they live. That America, which is indivisible from the original U.S. Constitution, is an offshoot of ancient Western and especially English traditions. What the new Jacobins defend is America as they choose to understand it: a fresh start for humanity, an enlightened "idea" rather than a nation with a past. The America of which they approve is an instrument for enacting their cherished universally applicable principles. The new Jacobins are, as it were, nationalists without a nation.

The new Jacobins are intent on global reconstruction and rooting out "evil." After 9/11 President Bush became their chief spokesman. Paradoxically, in his election campaign, Bush had repeatedly promised a more "humble" foreign policy and a move away from interventionism and nation building. If he had meant what he said then, 9/11 brought a metamorphosis. Neo-Jacobins who had worried that Bush might be an obstacle to their plans were delighted by the ease with which he could be converted to their cause. He adopted the neo-Jacobin rhetoric of his speechwriters with evident relish, explicitly committing America to

armed world hegemony, portraying it as the savior nation: "There is a value system that cannot be compromised, and that is the values we praise. And if the values are good enough for our people, they ought to be good enough for others."

Bush's conversion, if indeed there was one, was no accident. Especially since the end of the Cold War, neo-Jacobin ideology had spread quickly through think tanks, magazines, newspapers, the electronic media, and the two main parties, especially the Republicans. The ideology had long been propounded by a profusion of writers and activists such as Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, and William Kristol. In

through policies whose full implications were not obvious to their less ideological bosses. President Bush had the excuses that he confronted wholly unanticipated and unsettling circumstances and was not an intellectual and historian able fully to understand the cause that he adopted.

His recruitment to the ideology of empire and the war against Iraq were great victories for the new Jacobins. Now they are working towards the further implementation of their plans for an expanded American role in the world, especially in the Middle East. Other countries—Syria and Iran first of all—are said urgently to need "regime change." Toppling the Saudi government is

a voracious appetite for power. It signifies the ascent to power of a new kind of American, one profoundly at odds with that older type who aspired to modesty and self-restraint. That former personality was inseparable from, indeed, the creator of, the notion of limited, decentralized government. Traditional, constitutionalist America derived its moral and political assumptions from the classical, Christian, and British traditions.

For Christians as for the Greeks, pride is the most dangerous human weakness as it threatens to unleash the desire for power and invites nemesis. The push for American empire is contemporaneous with a gargantuan accumulation and centralization of federal power and a precipitous erosion of traditional American checks on power. This should surprise no one. Those who assume that they know better than all others consider themselves entitled to power. As if by sheer coincidence, their every new declaration of human need, in America or the world, places more power in their hands and undermines the ability of others to shape their own lives.

The notion of benevolent American empire is made to order for individuals of great pride who desire great power. In recent memory, the only ideology to have provided a better justification for unchecked power was communism, whose assertion of a need completely to remake the world supported giving unlimited authority to leaders who knew what to do.

America is witnessing nothing less than an inversion of its traditional self-understanding and sense of priorities. ■

Claes G. Ryn is Professor of Politics at Catholic University and Chairman of the National Humanities Institute. He is the author of America the Virtuous: The Crisis of Democracy and the Quest for Empire.

FOR CHRISTIANS AS FOR THE GREEKS, PRIDE IS THE MOST DANGEROUS HUMAN WEAKNESS AS IT THREATENS TO UNLEASH THE DESIRE FOR POWER AND INVITES NEMESIS.

the president's inner circle, it had a leading spokesman in Paul Wolfowitz. One of Wolfowitz's old professors was Allan Bloom, with whom he had stayed in touch. Politicians and businessmen like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld had been drawn into the neo-Jacobin ambit through protracted cultivation.

The new Jacobins are not content to promote and protect American and Western interests and to nurture a common ground with other countries. They have a panacea and insist that the world adopt it. Virtually all Americans recognized the necessity of an emphatic response to 9/11. The reason this atrocity did not elicit focused action against the perpetrators but became instead the justification for war against Iraq and a worldwide battle against terrorism is that neo-Jacobin intellectuals and activists had long prepared to launch such a policy. After 9/11 they could push

another important goal. Some neo-Jacobins want the U.S. to develop "small" nuclear weapons for use against entrenched terrorists and guerrillas and their buried weapons. Some seriously advocate a World War IV against the Muslim world before it has had a chance to build up its power.

Discouraging reports from Iraq are reinforcing the old American reluctance to commit military power abroad. When the American public becomes more fully aware of the ambitious, messianic strategy behind U.S. foreign policy they may come to realize that this design is a recipe for perpetual war and chronic domestic insecurity. They may also recall an older American sense of limits and humility and realize that only great conceit could inspire a dream of armed world hegemony.

The ideology of benevolent American empire and global democracy dresses up

Immigration Racket

Wal-Mart's busted illegal aliens exploit RICO laws.

By Matt Hayes

JUST ACROSS THE Hudson River from Manhattan is Bergen County, N.J. The town of Hackensack, Bergen's county seat, provided a view of the World Trade Center until the towers were destroyed in 2001. For the better part of a century, Hackensack has been a town where blue- and white-collar workers eat together at lunch counters, though those counters seem less and less crowded every year. It is a stone's throw away from Paterson, a city that made American labor history with the silk strikes of 1913.

It is now home to the law office of Gilberto Garcia, a recently disciplined lawyer and sometime legal commentator for the local Telemundo affiliate. Shortly after October's nationwide Wal-Mart raids, in which more than 300 illegal aliens were arrested by the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (BICE) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) for working illegally for Wal-Mart's cleaning contractors, Garcia was in touch with a Telemundo reporter who had spoken with some of the illegal aliens netted at three raid locations in New Jersey. His office was hired to represent them. By Nov. 3, Garcia had drafted a complaint against Wal-Mart, and within a week, he was on CNN. "This is a case about ideology. This is a case about the people who are in the unemployment lines who should be in those positions," Garcia said in an interview with Lou Dobbs.

But the people of whom Garcia spoke were not the low-skilled American workers who in recent decades have seen

their wages depressed by as much as 50 percent through immigration or even the Americans and legal aliens who were directly deprived of employment by the illegal hiring practices of Wal-Mart's cleaning contractors. Nor was he speaking about the New Jersey businesses that do not commit the felony of hiring an illegal alien in place of an American and that could not, therefore, bid competitively for a Wal-Mart cleaning contract.

Gilberto Garcia was speaking about the illegal aliens arrested in the raids.

From corporate human-resources departments that use non-immigrant visas solely as a means of reducing payroll to congressional efforts to curry votes through jobs programs for illegal aliens, the American worker, like never before, is being systematically moved out of the economy he helped to create.

suit in federal District Court that sought class status for all illegal aliens arrested in the Wal-Mart raids. The suit asserted wage and similar claims under the Fair Labor Standards Act. But in a first since 1996, when the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act was made available to parties that could demonstrate damages as a result of immigration-law violations, these illegal-alien plaintiffs have sued their own employers, and Wal-Mart, for the immigration infractions that they brought about themselves. What did the plaintiffs argue was the defendants' ongoing criminal act, as required under RICO? It was the plaintiffs' own employment; employment which, as each conceded in the complaint, was voluntary and in many cases lasted for years.

The complaint raises substantial questions about who may commence a

THESE ILLEGAL-ALIEN PLAINTIFFS HAVE SUED THEIR OWN EMPLOYERS, AND WAL-MART, FOR THE IMMIGRATION INFRACTIONS THAT THEY BROUGHT ABOUT THEMSELVES.

While America has dealt with competition from abroad before, it has never been faced with the mass importation of labor—legal and illegal—it now confronts, or the onslaught of rhetoric that is used to justify it.

Consider what the illegal aliens in the New Jersey case seek. Shortly after they instituted a back-pay and discrimination suit in state court, the nine filed a second

civil RICO action, not least of which is whether a court can be asked by these particular plaintiffs to provide remedies on a contract that was made illegal by the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The plaintiffs are also probably barred on some of their claims by the old doctrine of unclean hands, which prevents recovery by a plaintiff who has acted in bad faith in the matter

on which he seeks relief, however improper the behavior of the defendant may have been. The nine illegal-alien plaintiffs are no less blameworthy than their employers or Wal-Mart, and if there was an ongoing criminal scheme, the plaintiffs voluntarily participated in it. Indeed, much of the relief that the illegal-alien plaintiffs seek, if granted, would place the court in the role of an accomplice to the criminal employment scheme.

None of this has deterred the people who surround the nine illegal-alien plaintiffs and the balance of those arrested in the raids. They have found an advocate in Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), who said—from Mexico City no less—“We think there might be a better way to go about this because the fact is that it is against the law for the employer to hire these people so there should be more focus on the employer and less on these terrorizing raids.” Representative Pelosi had just emerged from a meeting

with Mexican President Vicente Fox when she spoke, and the “we” that she referred to apparently included Fox. Her thinking: employers who hire illegal aliens should be pursued, but the illegal-alien employees should be left alone. Would that not still result in their unemployment? Pelosi doesn’t seem to know, but she, at least, saw some purpose in enforcing the laws against employing illegal aliens. Others did not. Judy Golub, senior director of advocacy at the American Immigration Lawyers Association in Washington, said to the *Christian Science Monitor*, “I want my government to go after terrorists, not janitors.”

Other immigration lawyers—whom we would expect to be happy that they now have another 300 potential clients—also got in on the act. Immigration Lawyers on the Web, or ILW.com, argued that the raids showed the federal government was incapable of making law-enforcement decisions saying, “We are not clear as to the rationale for sparing the resources for this raid—BICE and DHS are supposed to be fighting terrorism as their first priority. With al-Qaeda terrorists alleged to be at large inside the US, the excuse that DHS was busy pursuing undocumented janitors at Wal-Mart will be worse than lame in the event of the next massive terrorist attack.” It is meaningless, we are to believe, that there are by most estimates between eight and 11 million illegal aliens inside our borders.

There is reason for a kind of sullen agreement with those who sprang to the defense of the illegal aliens arrested in the Wal-Mart raids. In 1990, four years after the Immigration Reform and Control Act authorized financial sanctions for employers that hired illegal aliens, 14,311 such employers were fined. Eight years later the number had dropped to 7,115, and by 2000, only 178 employers were sanctioned. In 2002, immigration

authorities fined 320 U.S. employers for hiring illegal aliens. The fines totaled \$5.3 million, and of that a mere \$2.6 million was collected. Authorities were unable to collect a dime from 73 of those employers, some of which were fined as much as \$77,000. Most simply closed up shop in the dead of night and were never found again. So even if there are only 8.7 million illegal aliens in the U.S., as the Census Bureau estimated in 2002, they could not possibly all be working for the 320 employers fined. It is meaningless, at least to recent administrations, that there are millions upon millions of people here illegally.

There are other aspects to the New Jersey case that the illegal-alien plaintiffs seek to use to their own advantage.

Federal authorities will almost certainly need the testimony of illegal aliens to indict Wal-Mart. The discount giant has announced its intention vigorously to contest the charges, which should result in a trial. If a trial takes place, the government will need the illegal aliens to testify to two key facts of its case: Wal-Mart managers knew that certain cleaning workers had no legal immigration status, and they directed those workers to perform cleaning tasks at Wal-Mart’s stores. With 61 raid locations, many of those arrested in the raids are likely soon to find themselves the subjects of material-witness warrants. And though every illegal-alien plaintiff in the lawsuit concedes he can be deported, immigration judges have virtually no power to order the deportation of a person under a federal material-witness warrant.

An illegal alien who also is a plaintiff in a civil lawsuit has at his disposal a surprisingly effective tool to stave off an order of removal. Most immigration judges are reluctant to remove an alien who might benefit through civil litigation, and many immigration judges have been known to schedule hearings in a removal case so that they shadow the

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progress of an alien's slip-and-fall lawsuit. Orders of removal have even been held just long enough to allow settlement checks to clear. Given the millions of dollars that may be at stake in the New Jersey suit, an immigration lawyer representing one of these illegal-alien plaintiffs would be remiss if he were not to insure that that his client's Wal-Mart lawsuit settles before his client is ordered removed.

To date, no U.S. citizen, business, or legal resident—the very people whose interests Congress sought to protect when it made RICO available to them to redress immigration-law violations—has sued Wal-Mart or its cleaning vendors for their allegedly illegal employment practices. Craig Nelson, executive director of the Washington-based Friends of Immigration Law Enforcement, says, “If the allegations against Wal-Mart and its subcontractors are true, they are prime targets for a RICO action. Any American citizen or legal immigrant whose wages and working conditions were driven down by Wal-Mart's alleged criminal activity, or any law-abiding competitor who lost business to Wal-Mart or its subcontractors, should seek legal recourse.”

Illegal aliens should not have been the Wal-Mart victims to use RICO. It belongs to Americans who suffer from just this kind of immigration infraction. But the open-borders lobby, with its full procession of tort lawyers and ethnic-grievance groups is impressively organized. Unless those who want to see our immigration laws enforced—an overwhelming majority of Americans—answer their challenge with one of our own, we will forfeit a vital legal instrument. They are ever active in the pursuit of their agenda. And we are idle at our peril. ■

Matt Hayes is an immigration lawyer and columnist for Fox News. He is the author of The New Immigration Law and Practice.

Open Door Policy

A strange thing happened on the way to the war.

By Karen Kwiatkowski

Lt. Col. Karen Kwiatkowski, a former Pentagon insider, concludes her observations on the run-up to the Iraq war in this last of a three-part series.

AS THE WINTER of 2002 approached, I was increasingly amazed at the success of the propaganda campaign being waged by President Bush, Vice President Cheney, and neoconservative mouthpieces at the *Washington Times* and *Wall Street Journal*. I speculated about the necessity but unlikelihood of a Phil-Dick-style minority report on the grandiose Feith-Wolfowitz-Rumsfeld-Cheney vision of some future Middle East where peace, love, and democracy are brought about by pre-emptive war and military occupation.

In December, I requested an acceleration of my retirement after just over 20 years on duty and exactly the required three years of time-in-grade as a lieutenant colonel. I felt fortunate not to have being fired or court-martialed due to my politically incorrect ways in the previous two years as a real conservative in a neoconservative Office of Secretary of Defense. But in fact, my outspokenness was probably never noticed because civilian professionals and military officers were largely invisible. We were easily replaceable and dispensable, not part of the team brought in from the American Enterprise Institute, the Center for Security Policy, and the Washington Institute for Near East Affairs.

There were exceptions. When military officers conspicuously crossed the neoconservative party line, the results

were predictable—get back in line or get out. One friend, an Army colonel who exemplified the qualities carved in stone at West Point, refused to maneuver into a small neoconservative box, and he was moved into another position, where truth-telling would be viewed as an asset instead of a handicap. Among the civilians, I observed the stereotypical perspective that this too would pass, with policy analysts apparently willing to wait out the neocon phase.

In early winter, an incident occurred that was seared into my memory. A coworker and I were suddenly directed to go down to the Mall entrance to pick up some Israeli generals. Post-9/11 rules required one escort for every three visitors, and there were six or seven of them waiting. The Navy lieutenant commander and I hustled down. Before we could apologize for the delay, the leader of the pack surged ahead, his colleagues in close formation, leaving us to double-time behind the group as they sped to Undersecretary Feith's office on the fourth floor. Two thoughts crossed our minds: are we following close enough to get credit for escorting them, and do they really know where they are going? We did get credit, and they did know. Once in Feith's waiting room, the leader continued at speed to Feith's closed door. An alert secretary saw this coming and had leapt from her desk to block the door. “Mr. Feith has a visitor. It will only be a few more minutes.” The leader craned his neck to look around the secretary's head as he demanded, “Who is in there with him?”

This minor crisis of curiosity past, I noticed the security sign-in roster. Our habit, up until a few weeks before this incident, was not to sign in senior visitors like ambassadors. But about once a year, the security inspectors send out a warning letter that they were coming to inspect records. As a result, sign-in rosters were laid out, visible and used. I knew this because in the previous two weeks I watched this explanation being awkwardly presented to several North African ambassadors as they signed in for the first time and wondered why and why now. Given all this and seeing the sign-in roster, I asked the secretary, "Do you want these guys to sign in?" She raised her hands, both palms toward me, and waved frantically as she shook her head. "No, no, no, it is not necessary, not at all." Her body language told me I had committed a *faux pas* for even asking the question. My fellow escort and I chatted

on the Neoconservative List of Major Despicable People, and in spite of the rhetoric hurled against these enemies of the state, most really weren't Rodents of Unusual Size. Most, in fact, were retired from a branch of the military with a star or two or four on their shoulders. All could and did rationally argue the many illogical points in the neoconservative strategy of offensive democracy—guys like Brent Scowcroft, Barry McCaffrey, Anthony Zinni, and Colin Powell.

I was present at a staff meeting when Deputy Undersecretary Bill Luti called General Zinni a traitor. At another time, I discussed with a political appointee the service being rendered by Colin Powell in the early winter and was told the best service he could offer would be to quit. I heard in another staff meeting a derogatory story about a little Tommy Fargo who was acting up. Little Tommy was, of course, Commander, Pacific

president's speech, they said the information hadn't come from them or through them. They were as surprised and embarrassed as everyone else that such a blatant falsehood would make it into a presidential speech.

When General Zinni was removed as Bush's Middle East envoy and Elliot Abrams joined the National Security Council (NSC) to lead the Mideast division, whoops and high-fives had erupted from the neocon cubicles. By midwinter, echoes of those celebrations seemed to mutate into a kind of anxious anticipation, shared by most of the Pentagon. The military was anxiously waiting under the bed for the other shoe to drop amidst concerns over troop availability, readiness for an ill-defined mission, and lack of day-after clarity. The neocons were anxiously struggling to get that damn shoe off, gleefully anticipating the martinis to be drunk and the fun to be had. The other shoe fell with a thump on Feb. 5 as Colin Powell delivered his United Nations presentation.

It was a sad day for me and many others with whom I worked when we watched Powell's public capitulation. The era when Powell had been considered a political general, back when he was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, had in many ways been erased for those of us who greatly admired his coup of the Pentagon neocons when he persuaded the president to pursue UN support for his invasion of Iraq. Now it was as if Powell had again rolled military interests—and national interests as well.

Around that same time, our deputy director forwarded a State Department cable that had gone out to our embassy in Turkey. The cable contained answers to 51 questions that had been asked of our ambassador by the Turkish government. The questions addressed things like after-war security arrangements, refugees, border control, stability in the Kurdish north, and occupation plans.

IT WAS A SAD DAY FOR ME TO WATCH POWELL'S PUBLIC CAPITULATION.

on the way back to our office about how the generals knew where they were going (most foreign visitors to the five-sided asylum don't) and how the generals didn't have to sign in. I felt a bit dirtied by the whole thing and couldn't stop comparing that experience to the grace and gentility of the Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian ambassadors with whom I worked.

In my study of the neoconservatives, it was easy to find out whom in Washington they liked and whom they didn't. They liked most of the Heritage Foundation and all of the American Enterprise Institute. They liked writers Charles Krauthammer and Bill Kristol. To find out whom they didn't like, no research was required. All I had to do was walk the corridors and attend staff meetings. There were several shared prerequisites to get

Forces, Admiral Fargo. This was shared with the rest of us as a Bill Luti lesson in civilian control of the military. It was certainly not civil or controlled, but the message was crystal.

When President Bush gave his State of the Union address, there was a small furor over the reference to the yellowcake in Niger that Saddam was supposedly seeking. After this speech, everyone was discussing this as either new intelligence saved up for just such a speech or, more cynically, just one more flamboyant fabrication that those watching the propaganda campaign had come to expect. I had not heard about yellowcake from Niger or seen it mentioned on the Office of Special Plans talking points. When I went over to my old shop, sub-Saharan Africa, to congratulate them for making it into the

But every third answer was either “To be determined” or “We’re working on that” or “This scenario is unlikely.” At one point, an answer included the “fact” that the United States military would physically secure the geographic border of Iraq. Curious, I checked the length of the physical border of Iraq. Then I checked out the length of our own border with Mexico. Given our exceptional success in securing our own desert borders, I found this statement interesting.

Soon after, I was out-processed for retirement and couldn’t have been more relieved to be away from daily exposure to practices I had come to believe were unconstitutional. War is generally crafted and pursued for political reasons, but the reasons given to Congress and the American people for this one were so inaccurate and misleading as to be false. Certainly, the neoconservatives never bothered to sell the rest of the country on the real reasons for occupation of Iraq—more bases from which to flex U.S. muscle with Syria and Iran, better positioning for the inevitable fall of the regional sheikdoms, maintaining OPEC on a dollar track, and fulfilling a half-baked imperial vision. These more accurate reasons could have been argued on their merits, and the American people might indeed have supported the war. But we never got a chance to debate it.

My personal experience leaning precariously toward the neoconservative maw showed me that their philosophy remains remarkably untouched by respect for real liberty, justice, and American values. My years of military service taught me that values and ideas matter, but these most important aspects of our great nation cannot be defended adequately by those in uniform. This time, salvaging our honor will require a conscious, thoughtful, and stubborn commitment from each and every one of us, and though I no longer wear the uniform, I have not given up the fight. ■

The Pentagon is organizing Task Force 121, a joint Department of Defense/CIA special-operations assassination team, investigative journalist Seymour Hersh has revealed.

Force 121’s primary objective is to identify and capture or kill the organizers of resistance to the American occupation in Iraq. Strongly opposed by other senior Pentagon officers, it is the brainchild of Donald Rumsfeld and Gen. William Boykin. Force 121 is training at Fort Bragg with assistance from Israeli advisers, Israel being the world’s pre-eminent authority on targeted killing. The Pentagon has also obtained a Presidential Finding authorizing it to use the Task Force along the borders with Iran and Syria, crossing over whenever necessary to “interdict.” Ethical considerations and international law aside, critics of the Task Force note that its effectiveness is linked to development of good intelligence on the whereabouts of Iraq’s underground leaders. At present, there is virtually no reliable intelligence on the ground in Iraq (or in Afghanistan). History repeats itself. In Vietnam, the similar Phoenix Program’s informants who provided the names of alleged Viet Cong were often both unreliable and exercising personal vendettas, leading to the killing of 40,000 civilians, most of whom had nothing to do with the VC.



The White House depends on a daily threat matrix to determine if a terrorist action is imminent either in the

United States or overseas. The matrix is largely a statistical compilation that reflects the number and location of threat indicators and does not require anyone in the White House to have to read anything, which is fortunate. The matrix has fallen slightly since the end of Ramadan but remains at an unusually high level by the standards of the past two years. All threat indicators continue to point outside the United States at this time. Counter-terrorism analysts believe al-Qaeda is still intent on a major terrorist event in North America but probably cannot act until late 2004. Intelligence information suggests that the next target in America will not include hijacked aircraft and may be on the West Coast.



Neocons in the administration are intent on rewarding Israel for the “restraint” it has shown while American soldiers were busy

subduing Iraq. Israeli interrogators, embedded in U.S. Army intelligence, are assisting their American counterparts in Baghdad by sharing the soft-torture techniques developed in Ramallah to get almost anyone to agree to almost anything. Israeli companies have been invited to take a slice of the huge contracts being floated for the reconstruction of Iraq, while that gleam in the fathomless eyes of Doug Feith and Richard Perle is the dream of a reconstructed oil pipeline from Mosul to Haifa in Israel. The pipeline, to be upgraded at a cost of around \$1 billion to the U.S. taxpayer, would guarantee Israel’s energy supply and would earn Tel Aviv considerable transit fees. Most observers believe the idea of the pipeline is ludicrous. It passes through Sunni regions of Iraq and would be blown up so often it would quickly resemble Swiss cheese.

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is partner in Cannistraro Associates, an international security consultancy.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Big Fish*]

Life of a Salesman

By Steve Sailer

BECAUSE TIM BURTON directs comedies and fantasies, he has yet to receive an Oscar nomination, despite making movies as memorable as “Beetlejuice,” “Batman,” and “Ed Wood.” With “Big Fish,” though, he delivers a film so original, likeable, and expertly acted that even the pompous Academy will be hard pressed to deny him again.

Burton, for example, aces the casting challenge that “The Human Stain” flunked: finding look-alike movie stars who can play the same character at different ages. Albert Finney of 1963’s “Tom Jones” and his young doppelganger, Ewan McGregor of 2001’s “Moulin Rouge,” combine as the title character, while Jessica Lange (“Tootsie”) and Alison Lohman (“Matchstick Men”) portray his wife.

“Big Fish” is a delightful, often astonishing vindication of much that is out of fashion, including traveling salesmen, the Southern tall-tale tradition, and fathers who bring home the bacon but don’t share their feelings.

Young screenwriter John August brilliantly adapted Daniel Wallace’s 1998 novel into a triumphant reply to Arthur Miller’s “Death of a Salesman.” Nobody is more scorned in theory than the salesman, especially since Miller’s 1949 drama, in which Bernard, the straight-A nerd next door who is Miller’s alter ego,

gets his revenge on the all-American (and thus doomed) Loman family by becoming a Supreme Court litigator, while the Lomans’ sports and business ambitions shatter. Yet, nobody is more popular in real life than the successful jock-turned-salesman. To make it in his ego-crushing profession, he must possess the self-confidence, optimism, and wit that the rest of us hope will somehow rub off on us if we buy what he’s selling.

After a lifetime peddling wholesale merchandise across America with a smile and a story, Edward Bloom is dying. In contrast to Willy Loman, however, Edward is prosperous because he is not only liked, but “well liked,” and precisely because of his refusal to face facts. Everybody loves Edward’s comic fish stories, his endlessly polished Davy-Crockett-style yarns about his early days.

Everybody that is, except Edward’s prosaic son William (Billy Crudup of “Almost Famous”). A fact-grubbing UPI reporter (like me), William flies home to Alabama desperate to get a straight story out of his father at last. When William was a boy, he had hungered for his dad’s rare visits home and believed every word of his whoppers. But, now, about to become a father himself, he wants to know who this man really was.

Infuriatingly, Edward instead charms one last new audience, William’s pregnant wife, with his well-practiced fibs, which Burton shows us in hilarious flashbacks.

Back when he was the high-school sports hero, Edward volunteered to save his little town from a hungry 15’ tall giant (portrayed affectingly by the 7’-6” actor Matthew McGrory, who is in the Guinness Book of World Records for wearing size 26 shoes). Being a go-getter

with a “sociable disposition,” Edward easily persuaded the behemoth that they were both big fish trapped in a too-small pond.

So, Edward found his new pal a job at the circus. He then spotted the one true love of his life in the bleachers, but she disappeared before he learned her name. The ringmaster (Danny DeVito) promised to reveal one clue about her each month if Edward became his indentured servant. After three years of being shot out of cannons, Edward found her but was immediately drafted into the Korean War. He parachuted behind Red lines and escaped only with the help of two beautiful Chinese singers, Siamese twins who wanted him to introduce them to Bob Hope.

Slowly, William begins to grasp that his father’s stories do contain some truth, suitably stretched. Who ultimately is Edward Bloom? He’s an artist of gab, a Picasso of the pitch.

Moreover, Edward was something that hasn’t been much honored in movies lately, especially since the rise of Steven Spielberg, who still resents his father’s workaholicism. Edward was a good provider, a traveling man who couldn’t stand to stay home but always came back eventually to his wife and son, often with big paychecks.

Unlike Edward, I’m very much the fashionable homebody father. I suspect, though, that styles will change again, and someday my boys will ask, “Dad, why did you always hang around with us, when you could have been out schmoozing clients so you’d have something to leave us in your will?” ■

Rated PG-13 for a fight scene, some images of nudity, and a suggestive reference.

Steve Sailer is TAC’s film critic and a reporter for UPI.

BOOKS

[*Anti-Americanism*, Jean-François Revel, *Encounter*, 176 pages]

Uncritical Champion

By Peter Hitchens

CONSERVATIVES OUTSIDE America often have to tread a lonely path. They are at best patronized, at worst silenced. They look towards the great republic as if it were a celestial city, a fortress and arsenal of the cause. They defend it with an indiscriminate passion against stupid, ignorant critics.

And yes, those critics are ignorant. When I first visited the USA in 1977, I was so astonished and overwhelmed by the experience that I did not sleep properly for a month after I returned home. I had, quite simply, no idea what it was really like until I went there, my mind having been filled for years with the silly misconceptions and hopeless prejudices of my own declining nation and of the fashionable Left. It is a frightening combination, this resentful alliance of hostile Trotskyist and resentful, humiliated patriot. Washington should pay more attention to the hurt pride of once-great nations fallen on hard times, if it wants to keep any friends on the surface of the globe.

When I later lived in America for two years, I condemned myself to permanent internal exile in my own country. For having already known in part that the resentful, jealous misrepresentation of the United States was untrue, I now knew this fully, face to face and completely. I had either to sit silent and listen, inwardly fuming, to the uninformed rubbish of the modish Americophobes—or I had to make enemies by contradicting them.

It must be even worse for conserva-

tive Frenchmen than for conservative Englishmen. In England we still have the last faint traces of our own patriotic, Protestant tradition, discernible on a clear day from a high place. Poor France, however, pretends that it is a revolutionary nation, though it would be hard to find anything closer to an 18th-century absolute monarchy, grandeur and all, anywhere on the surface of the earth. And so its thinking classes will always sympathize with the causes and governments that manage to combine dungeons with affected rhetoric and grand gestures, Stalin yesterday, Castro today, who knows what grisly tyranny tomorrow?

And so one whoops with delight to find, in the excellent Jean-François Revel, a Frenchman with the sense, understanding, and knowledge to defy Left Bank modishness and defend America with spirit against its dimwit foes. Many parts of this book are good for heart and soul alike, being brisk, merciless refutations of Euro-smugness about Kyoto, the death penalty, racialism, inequality, and the rest of the false claims of the new Europe to be morally and politically superior to the nation on the far side of the Atlantic. There is much here that is exhilarating, crackling

Hubert Beuve-Mery, founder of that fantastically self-righteous newspaper *Le Monde*, who wrote in the very year that American, British, and Canadian troops liberated his country from National Socialist occupation: "The Americans constitute a real danger for France." To experience this wonderful specimen of the higher drivel in full, you will have to turn to page 52 of M. Revel's book. But in the meantime, savor this: "Their [the Americans'] materialism does not even have the tragic grandeur of the materialism of the totalitarians. If they cling to a veritable cult of the idea of liberty, they don't feel the need to liberate themselves from the servitudes that their capitalism entails."

Living amidst this sort of thing, simultaneously pretentious and offensive to any well-tuned mind, it is easy to understand why the good Jean-François finds it hard to accept any criticisms of the USA. Condemnation from such curdled brains and such flapping mouths almost always amounts to praise. But that is what is wrong with this otherwise excellent and lucid book. It cannot recognize that a criticism of the USA may be true even though a French leftist has made it. Just as the Bush administration has used the horrors of Sept. 11, 2001, to over-

THIS OTHERWISE EXCELLENT BOOK CANNOT RECOGNIZE THAT A CRITICISM OF THE U.S. MAY BE TRUE EVEN THOUGH A FRENCH LEFTIST HAS MADE IT.

with perceptiveness and bitter humor. He has grasped the need of Europe's failed elites to blame America for the miseries they have brought upon themselves, their need to feel superior to a culture that has in so many ways humiliated them by its success and then made matters even worse with its generosity. He correctly identifies "an anti-American psychopathology, which routinely seeks to transform the United States into a scapegoat burdened with all the sins of the world."

As an example of this affliction, he produces an astonishing quotation from

come logic and any sense of proportion, M. Revel uses those events to convince himself that even America's wrongful actions are right. He starts to go astray (on page 55) when he mocks civil libertarians for protesting against post-9/11 surveillance of suspects. He argues, "... the measures were designed precisely to protect democracy from its totalitarian enemies." Well, of course that was the *pretext* for them, but for it to be established as the justification, it would have to be shown that these actions had produced a substantial increase in the safety of U.S. citizens from terrorist

attack. No such proof is available, nor is likely to be. The best long-term defense against terror has always been to refuse to negotiate with it at all, so that it ceases to prosper. Yet in the short run such an attitude can lead to a severe increase in violence and destruction, while the appeasement of terror can—as in my view it has done in this case—produce an immediate decrease in such threats. Whatever it is that has prevented a repeat of the Manhattan slaughter so far, it is unquestionably true that, in modern states, the security bureaucracies value any excuse to increase their powers to monitor and examine the individual, as naturally as weeds strive towards the sunlight.

Trapped in isolationist, exceptional France, where they even have import restrictions on foreign vocabulary, Revel also refuses to see any vices in globalization. This, he says, “means freedom of movement for goods and people.” Even if that were all it meant, the free movement of people—attractive as it sounds—is a two-edged affair that now menaces many old-established conservative cultures on both sides of the Atlantic. As for the free movement of goods, one wonders just how long this idea will remain popular in the West once China has begun to fulfill her economic promise.

And so, though he accepts that “there is a big difference between being anti-American and being critical of the United States,” Revel does not entirely accept the corollary of this—that there is also a big difference between being pro-American and being uncritical of the United States. He seems unaware of the tyranny of politically correct conformism on American university campuses, unable to explain the electoral triumphs of William Jefferson Clinton, a social-democratic politician quite as bad as those they have in France, unable to digest the implications of the USA’s self-damaging immigration policies or its obsessive multiculturalism and multilingualism. If he knows how bad American schools are, or how dominated by cultural bias towards social liberalism U.S.

broadcasting is, he does not show it. Friends and admirers of the USA ought to be abreast of these things, to realize that American conservatism in foreign policy—if it really is conservatism—is not matched by conservatism in domestic matters. The distressing truth is that it is precisely because they will not fight at home on the great cultural and moral issues of the family, marriage, abortion, self-discipline, and defense of national culture that American pseudo-conservatives feel such a powerful need to pose as giant-killers abroad. And, in the absence of real giants, they are compelled to magnify minor nuisances—such as Saddam Hussein—into menaces to world peace.

If only America deserved the unqualified admiration that Jean-François Revel heaps upon it. But tanks, missiles, aircraft carriers, and bombing planes are no substitute for the courageous resolve and unfashionable adherence to principle that once made America great and whose absence now gnaws at America’s vitals. France and Britain are not the only places where the cultural Left has occupied the strongpoints and besieges the inner fortifications. ■

Peter Hitchens is a columnist for the London Mail on Sunday. He is the author of The Abolition of Britain.

[*Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*, Jason Burke, I.B. Taurus, 292 pages]

A New Vision of Terrorism

By Richard Cummings

JASON BURKE of the London *Observer* has shaken the foundations of thinking about terrorism in his compact and densely written new book, *Al-Qaeda: Casting a Shadow of Terror*. The premise that al-Qaeda is a tightly knit, global terrorist organization with a structure

and a hierarchal leadership, he asserts, is false. And because terrorism is a “tactic,” Burke argues, with considerable justification, that “the term ‘war on terrorism’ is thus effectively nonsensical.” The issue with which we are confronted is, he insists, an Islamic “militancy,” of which terrorism is a major method of action.

The Arabic term “al-Qaeda” is the very source of the confusion about what this militancy is about. “It can mean a base, as in a camp or a home, or a foundation, such as what is under a house. It can mean a pedestal that supports a column. It can also mean a precept, rule, principle, maxim, formula, method, model or pattern,” Burke explains.

Most commonly, al-Qaeda has been defined as Osama bin Laden’s base of operations on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, where he rounded up recruits to fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. That was William Casey’s understanding of the term when he gave tacit CIA support to bin Laden’s activities. Had the CIA understood the deeper meaning, as it was understood by the most extreme radical elements fighting in Afghanistan, it might not have been so willing to enlist its support for Charlie Wilson’s war to rid Afghanistan of the Soviet occupation, a war that was pivotal in America’s victory over the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

In 1987, Abdullah Azzam, the “chief ideologue” of the non-Afghan militants fighting alongside the *mujihadeen*, wrote:

Every principle needs a vanguard to carry it forward and to put up with heavy tasks and enormous sacrifices. There is no ideology, neither earthly nor heavenly, that does not require ... a vanguard ... It carries the flag all along the sheer, endless and difficult path until it reaches its destination in the reality of life, since Allah has destined that it should make it and manifest itself. This vanguard constitutes the strong foundation (al qaeda al-sulbah) for the expected society.

The *jihad* Azzam envisioned, and which bin Laden embraced, was a “moral obligation for all Muslims,” the sixth pillar of faith that individuals embraced when they made the decision to enter the *jihad*. Burke points to Azzam’s most famous book, *Defending the land of the Muslims is each man’s most important duty*, in which Azzam, a Palestinian, “made clear that the *jihad* in Afghanistan was just a beginning.” Azzam states the ultimate objective of the *jihad* with utmost clarity:

This duty will not end with victory in Afghanistan; *jihad* will remain an individual obligation until all other lands that were Muslim are returned to us so that Islam will reign again: before us lie Palestine, Bokhara, Lebanon, Chad, Eritrea, Somalia, the Philippines, Burma, southern Yemen, Tashkent and Andalusia.

And as Burke points out, “Bin Laden would specifically refer to Andalusia in his first broadcast after the U.S. airstrikes on Afghanistan commenced in October 2001.” And in so doing, he embraced Azzam’s notion that the veterans of the Afghan war would become a mobile strike force operating throughout the Islamic world. Their goal was the unification of the *umma*, the Muslim community, to reverse “the humiliation” as Burke refers to it, “when it had been ‘dismembered into nation-states by the West.’” As Azzam wrote,

When the *umma* goes astray ... God sends an individual or small group of people who will rescue it from perdition and restore it to the path of truth. This small elite are the ones who carry conviction and ambitions. And an even smaller group from this band are those who flee from the worldly life in order to spread and act upon these ambitions. And an even smaller group from this elite ... are those who sacrifice their souls and their blood in order to bring victory to these ambitions and principles.

Sayyid Qutb, the fiery Egyptian who had joined the Moslem Brotherhood, had denounced Western materialism, advocating a pure form of Islamic social justice. He had written in *Milestones*, commonly referred to as political Islam’s *Communist Manifesto*,

The banner of social justice was raised in the name of tauhid ... and the name of the banner was Islam ... Morals were elevated, hearts and souls purified and ... there was no need even to enforce the limits and punishments that Allah had prescribed because now ... the hope of Divine reward and fear of Allah’s anger took the place of police and law enforcement agencies.

This, together with Azzam’s prescriptions for action, make up the theoretical basis for what al-Qaeda became: the new revolutionary threat to the West. Ironically, given much of America’s intelligence establishment’s failures, Burke’s main argument about the nature of this Islamic militancy and terrorism is, to a large extent, derived from a State Department report called “Patterns of Global Terrorism.” The report’s conclusion underlies much of his analysis:

Many of these terrorists—some loosely organized and some representing groups—claimed to act for Islam and operated increasingly on a global scale. These trans-national terrorists benefit from modern communications and transportation, have global sources of funding, are knowledgeable about modern explosives and weapons, and are much more difficult to track and apprehend than members of the old established groups or those sponsored by states.

Al-Qaeda, then, is the vanguard of this loosely knit global movement of militants whose purpose is the restoration of the Caliphate and the unified Islamic world under a strict form of Islam that is hostile to Western democracy and capitalism. Defeating it requires deep think-

ing about what causes a young Muslim to join this movement, something that is harder to do than spending a billion dollars to look for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq.

Burke pulls no punches in explaining a phenomenon that has the potential for destroying the West:

[T]here is little reason to be optimistic about the possible development of alternatives that might divert the angry and resentful from radical Islam in the near future. Only in a few small Gulf states has there been any genuine move towards reform in recent years. One of the reasons for the evolution of a more radical, debased and violent form of protest is the tendency of governments in the Middle East to crush moderate movements. Because they are scared of radical Islam taking power, the regimes block democratic reform. Because there is no reform, radical Islam grows in support. As national Islamic movements, moderate or violent, are crushed or fail, anger is channeled into the symbolic realm and into the international, cosmic, apocalyptic language of bin Laden and his associates. This is the biggest threat of all. This is the crucial third stage that turns an angry and frustrated young man into a terrorist. This is the moment when an individual begins to conceive of doing something more than shouting slogans or waving banners. And it is there that the newly dominant, globalized ‘Al Qaeda’, as a universally transportable, universally applicable ideology and worldview, is so important.

In giving the case histories of 9/11-hijacker Mohamed Atta and Osama bin Laden himself, Burke combines his skills as a journalist with his insights as a psychologist. His single reference to author Frantz Fanon might have been expanded, but the very inclusion of Fanon’s “radical leftist Third Worldism”—as one of the

main inspirations for the Kashmiri separatists, whose radicalism has had far reaching consequences for world terrorism and the role of Pakistan in both fostering and combating it—gives credibility to Burke's reasoning.

While America was celebrating its Cold War victory over the Soviet Union and Communism, and Francis Fukuyama was proclaiming the "End of History," even as tenured radicals defined the times as "postmodern," few, if any, in America, paid much attention to the French philosopher of science, Bruno Latour, who prophetically asked, "How can we be post-modern when we have never really been modern?" French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, who singularly invented postmodernism, defined its main characteristic as the absence of the "metanarratives" that had defined modernism, the main one having been Marxism. Perhaps a neglected German philosopher, Romano Guardini, in his *End for the Modern World* best described the real postmodern condition:

Modern man had convinced himself that he stood at last before reality as it was. The springs of existence would be opened before him. The energies of a nature now accessible to his understanding would blend with those of his own nature and the "great life" would be

realized. Knowledge, commerce, production, each would perfect itself according to its own laws. All the spheres of reality would be united into an overwhelming harmony. Yet that achieved whole—"culture" itself—would continue to expand and within it man would fulfill himself."

In short, the human race's faith was a faith in "progress." But, Guardini concludes, "We do not hold this doctrine any more. On the contrary, we recognize, with increasing clarity that the modern world deceived itself."

Nowhere is the recognition of this deception greater than in the disillusioned Muslim world, which feels so totally betrayed by America and its visions of world empire. Should we be so astonished then that so much of that world would rather retreat into an ideal past and use the violence of modernity as the way to get there? The only way to defeat this militancy and the concomitant terrorism of an amorphous al-Qaeda is not only to foster a dynamic and moderate Islam, but also to engage in a deep introspection. Is it just "our freedom" they hate, or something else? Perhaps it is our own lack of a sense of the sacred and our failure to appreciate that our avarice has engendered deprivations elsewhere that engender such rage. As Burke advises, "All terrorist vio-

lence, 'Islamic' or otherwise, is unjustifiable, unforgivable and contemptible. But just because we condemn does not mean we should not strive to comprehend. We need to keep asking why." ■

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[C.S. Lewis and the Catholic Church, Joseph Pearce, Ignatius Press, 175 pages]

By Cicero Bruce

Apostles to The Skeptic

ALTHOUGH C.S. LEWIS commenced early upon a spiritual journey that seemed destined to end nowhere else but Rome, there were ineluctable sticking points along the way. Foremost were papal authority and Marian devotion. But many a conversion has been impeded by such concerns, observes the author of *C.S. Lewis and the Catholic Church*. He would know. Joseph Pearce has written prolifically on the conversions of diverse English writers—Ronald Knox, Evelyn Waugh, Edith Sitwell, Muriel Spark, and Malcolm Muggeridge, to name several. These men and women of letters also resisted the call of the Scarlet Woman.

Yet, unlike theirs, Lewis's reluctance to convert was indomitable, Pearce concludes, for it stemmed from an obdurate phobia instilled in Lewis by his Ulster-Protestant, traditionally Catholic-baiting family and ancestors, by whose collective voice, Lewis confessed, "I had been (implicitly) warned never to trust a Papist." Pearce, one of Lewis's ardent allies but thankfully not one of the "terrible simplifiers" (in Burchardt's apt phrase), deals fairly yet reverently with Lewis's anti-Catholic tendencies, exem-



"Thank you for calling Customer Service. This call may be monitored so we can play it back to your mother if you're rude or use bad words."

plifying and mitigating them with reference to letters, standard biographies, and sound Lewis scholarship.

One of the truly fascinating episodes in Pearce's probing book centers on the tension between Lewis and the neglected, critically maligned British poet Roy Campbell, whom conservative author Russell Kirk defiantly praised as "the last of the scalds, for, like the Viking scalds, Campbell was fearless, outrageous, and reckless, at once a doer of deeds and a singer of them." In Campbell, Pearce finds an illuminating foil to Lewis. While the latter was by nature an intellectual (in the best sense of the word), whose battles were fought in the lists of ideas, the former was something of a modern-day Sidney or Sir Walter Raleigh.

Before he and Lewis were formally introduced in October 1944, Campbell had fought valiantly for the Nationalist cause in the Spanish Civil War. He and his family, who were living in Spain when the war began, were lucky to survive it. "Many of his friends were not so lucky," Pearce reminds us. (Pearce is no stranger to Kirk's scald, having dealt sympathetically with him in *Bloomsbury and Beyond: The Friends and Enemies of Roy Campbell*.) "The priest who had received Roy and his wife, Mary, into the Catholic Church in 1935 was murdered in cold blood in the following year by communist militiamen, as were the Carmelite monks whom Roy and Mary befriended in Toledo."

Campbell eulogized Franco's victorious forces in *Flowering Rifle*, a controversial long poem that elicited (not surprisingly) animadversions from the literati of the time. Lewis himself responded posthaste with "To the Author of *Flowering Rifle*," a lyrical lampoon of Campbell and his politically incorrect views. Lewis's riposte, which appeared in the *Cherwell* magazine on May 6, 1939, was justified, admits Pearce, insofar as it "condemned Campbell's lack of charity. ..." But, as Pearce is quick to add, Lewis's "simplistic approach to the religious and philosophical dynamics of the war in Spain

exposed his own political naïveté." Unlike Lewis, Campbell saw the war for what it really was: a veritable battle "to the death between traditional Christianity and secular atheism," as Pearce describes it.

J.R.R. Tolkien was certain, relates Pearce, that "Lewis's judgment about Campbell in particular, and the Spanish Civil War in general, was the result of a knee-jerk reaction arising out of his anti-Catholicism." Lewis had been reluctant, after all, to believe that anti-Franco communists actually tortured and slew thousands of priests, monks, and nuns. Had he been convinced of such, Tolkien notes in his letters, Lewis would have probably thought they "asked for it." There is no "greater tribute to Red propaganda," remarked Tolkien, "than the fact that he [Lewis] (who knows they [the communists] are in all other subjects liars and traducers) believes all that is said against Franco, and nothing that is said for him."

Be that as it may have been, Pearce is careful to show that Lewis's Ulster-Protestant intolerance was not entirely insurmountable. In the decade succeeding their first meeting (at which Lewis belligerently, and to the chagrin of Tolkien, read his lampoon aloud), Lewis and Campbell became intimate allies in what Pearce calls "the battle against common literary foes." Campbell, whom Lewis ultimately forgave for *Flowering*

youthful bout of atheism and permanently disposed him to religious orthodoxy. Then there is Tolkien. If Lewis's atheism was cured by exposure to Chesterton's everlasting challenge to the chronological arrogance of H. G. Wells, his love of Christ was born and quickened in conversations with this now internationally famous author of *The Lord of the Rings*. Had he never met Tolkien, argues Pearce, it is quite possible that Lewis might never have become a Christian and subsequently joined the Anglican Church, as he did not long after their first encounter.

Chesterton and Tolkien had a profound and distinctively Catholic effect on the tenor of Lewis's creative endeavors. Take, for instance, *The Pilgrim's Regress*. When it rolled off the press in 1933, seven years after Lewis's first exchange of ideas with Tolkien and a decade and a half after his first being bowled over by the perennial wisdom of Chesterton, readers assumed that its author was soon to be included among the growing number of converts to Catholicism. Indeed, back of this autobiographical depiction of Lewis's emergence from the abyss of atheistic modernism and into the light of Christianity is something inferably more Catholic than Protestant.

Apart from its title and allegorical medium, *The Pilgrim's Regress* owes less to Puritan writer John Bunyan,

CHESTERTON AND TOLKIEN HAD A PROFOUND AND DISTINCTIVELY CATHOLIC EFFECT ON THE TENOR OF LEWIS'S CREATIVE ENDEAVORS.

Rifle, became a welcome presence at Lewis's lively scholarly gatherings, where the erstwhile antagonists, who "still crossed swords," as Pearce puts it, were seen to be "arguing as friends," and no longer "quarrelling as enemies."

Besides Campbell, two better-known Catholics figure prominently in Pearce's study. There is G.K. Chesterton, whose moral and theological elucidations in *The Everlasting Man* cured Lewis of a

author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, than to Dante and his mentor Thomas Aquinas, the philosopher-saint who "emerges," says Pearce, "as the preeminent and towering influence on the structure of Lewis's allegorical 'Regress.'" Its protagonist, for example, is instructed and edited by "Mother Kirk,"—Dante's and Thomas's Catholic Church personified—whose extensive monologue Lewis ends rather oddly "with the asser-

tion" (in Pearce's words) "that the language of Mother Church is Latin," not the vernacular to which the Anglican Church had succumbed long before Lewis joined its flock.

Of the many reviews that promptly followed the publication of *The Pilgrim's Regress*, W. Norman Pittenger's is typical. On the evidence of the book alone, Pittenger, an Anglican priest writing for *The Living Church*, fancied the pilgrim's final "resting place" to be none other than the Church of Rome. "Anglicans," wrote Pittenger mistakenly if understandably, "may wish that he had come their way, but Mr. Lewis, who is a Roman Catholic, does not see it so."

Though Lewis never became a Roman Catholic, his later works betray a growing affinity for Catholic teaching. Pearce adduces one of many examples of this development from *Mere Christianity*, Lewis's most popular book. In the chapter on "Sexual Morality," Lewis insists that lust is not a capital vice and adamantly proclaims the deadliest of sins to be "purely spiritual." Here, according to Pearce, "Lewis was following the teaching of the Church, which relies in part on sacred tradition and not merely on *sola scriptura*."

Or was he not following Dante, as he had done in *The Pilgrim's Regress*, and then later, and more consciously, in his purgatorial "Dream," *The Great Divorce*? In the latter, writes Pearce, "Lewis delved deeper into the truths of Christianity ... than in much of his prose didacticism." As artistically masterful as it is atmospherically Catholic, *The Great Divorce* is unquestionably one of Lewis's finest creations. "Although it cannot, of course, compare in scope and plenitude with Dante's great poem," wrote Lewis biographers Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper, "the book can certainly be said to be Lewis's *Divine Comedy* and the parallels between the two works are numerous."

In his later years, Lewis became increasingly dissatisfied with Protestantism, which had begun to conform itself to the vagaries of the muddled modern mind. His space trilogy—*Out of*

the Silent Planet, *Perelandra*, and *That Hideous Strength*—is nothing less than a stand against scientism and philosophical materialism. Lewis's anti-modernism comes to the fore in his published protests against the mid-century movement to ordain women in the Anglican Church, protests that Pearce attributes to Lewis's Catholic understanding of the priesthood. For Lewis, if not for a growing faction of his fellow Anglicans, the priesthood was something more than merely another "job." For him, as Pearce explains, it "was a mystical calling, sacramental in nature, which had been pre-ordained by God Himself as a masculine function as motherhood had been pre-ordained as a feminine function."

C.S. Lewis and the Catholic Church presents an impelling case to suggest that its subject evolved "into a very Catholic sort of Protestant." As Thomas Howard writes in the Foreword, "[Lewis's] faith came to embrace all sorts of doctrines and practices that his evangelical readers (who are his most enthusiastic clientele) must sedulously ignore." In his final years, Lewis "spoke of 'the Blessed Virgin,' and made his confession to his priest regularly, and believed in purgatory, and even came to refer to the Eucharist as—heaven help us all—the Mass!"

Lewis was only 65 when he died. Would he have become a Catholic—in spite of his Ulster-Protestant sensibilities—if he had lived another decade? Yes, responded, Hooper (Lewis's best-known biographer) when asked the question in 1994. When the Anglican Church surrendered to liberalism, Lewis would have been left with no choice but to "go where the faith actually still is Christian."

Whether Hooper was correct is an intriguing point of conjecture. What remains indisputable, however, is the reality that, since his death in 1965, Lewis has been the acknowledged catalyst of countless conversions. Why so many have called Lewis a "Signpost to Catholicism" has been made clearer by Joseph Pearce, in whose own conver-

sion "Lewis's role was not insignificant."

Yes, Pearce himself is a convert. But his study of Lewis was not written for Catholics alone. It was written, he tells us in his Preface, "for those who share my love for Lewis, regardless of whether they share my love for the Catholic Church." Pearce has tried "not to cherish" his "own position, but to discover the true one." On both counts he has been successful, and his accomplishment should be recognized as a major contribution to Lewis studies. ■

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[American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization, Neil Smith, University of California Press, 557 pages]

Lay of the Land

By Ryan McMaken

IT IS NOW CLICHÉ to talk about how small the world has become. Thanks to faster transportation and better communications, we are told, the physical world means virtually nothing anymore. National boundaries are now merely lines on a map. Neil Smith would like to disagree. In his new book *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*, Smith looks at the role of geography in the making of what has come to be called "The American Century" and concludes that as America enters its third great attempt at globalization, it is bound to fail as it has done so disastrously twice before. And it will do so for the same reasons.

Neil Smith is a geographer, and geographers, it seems, are interested in the details of where people live, how they live, and what makes them different from other people. And in geography there is one universal truth: people live in the physical world, and they adapt to

this physical world in a variety of ways. There is no getting around this.

Smith's earlier book *The New Urban Frontier* dissected the conflicts between suburbanites and urban dwellers around the issue of gentrification in the 20th century. Even on a local and urban scale, Smith tells us, the cultural and economic differences among groups are no small matter and cannot be smoothed over simply through pretty rhetoric and government slogans. People get attached to their ways of life, and such things can only be changed at great cost.

In *American Empire*, Smith takes his geography to a global level and discusses the inability of American ideologies of globalization to confront the problems of geography and that, unless geography is realistically confronted, American dreams of a new global order—an American economic empire—will continue to fall short. This is done within the framework of examining America's last two attempts at globalization: the making of the Treaty of Paris following World War I and the creation of the United Nations.

Smith tells the story through the career of Isaiah Bowman, the once renowned geographer who is now all but forgotten but who worked closely with both Wilson and Roosevelt in their efforts to secure a new global order. Ironically, although a geographer who believed that scientific analysis could produce better treaties and better diplomacy, Bowman eventually became blinded by his own dreams of a universal order and eventually, like Wilson and Roosevelt before him, contributed to the demise of the American empire he had so carefully planned.

Smith ties the beginnings of these dreams of a liberal empire to the closing of the American frontier in the late 19th century. With the end of the frontier in the American West, Smith tells us, the age of American geographical expansion ended. As a result, men like Isaiah Bowman began to look for new ways to carry on the American pre-occupation with frontiers. Deeming themselves above the temptations of geographical empires and old-world-style colonies,

American scholars like Bowman took to formulating an American empire based not on territory and geographical expansion but on economic expansion secured and spread through creative use of the American nation-state as a global economic pioneer opening new frontiers through any means necessary.

After World War I, the Paris Peace Conference, which Smith calls “a fiesta of egos and intrigues,” became the cen-

became clear that the experiment was a failure. The regional pressures of geopolitics overtook Wilson's vision, and it was not long before Germany began seeking to undo the peace. Bowman's allegedly impartial science was no match for the ideas of the German geographer Friedrich Ratzel and his concept of “living space” or *Lebensraum*. While Bowman and Wilson had tried to set the national bor-

SMITH TIES THE BEGINNINGS OF DREAMS OF A LIBERAL EMPIRE TO THE CLOSING OF THE AMERICAN FRONTIER IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY.

tral stage for American attempts to create a new economic order. Much of this was formed around Woodrow Wilson's liberal internationalism. But, as Smith notes, in Wilson's case, “internationalism” really meant “national interest exemplified,” and Wilson's goal was “a liberal capitalist world order providing free economic access.” In order to do this, however, peace was to be essential, for any disruption in the peace would bring a disruption in trade and thus a partial closing of the new frontier.

Wilson and Bowman resolved to create this peace once and for all by achieving Bowman's dream of the “scientific peace.” Wilson's agents thus set to work rearranging the European continent in order to place boundaries where they believed there might be the least chance of conflict between neighboring populations. In the end, of course, there was nothing remotely scientific about the treaty process, since decisions were made on the basis of rewarding the victors and punishing the losers in the Great War. Nevertheless, Bowman thought that the key to peace lay in stabilizing the political geography of the world and that “[t]o get beyond political geography ... the political geography of the world had to be fixed, taken out of the equation.”

The point of all of this was to create a *universal* political geography that would allow for fine-tuning for maximum economic benefit, but it soon

ders of Europe in stone, Ratzel's *Lebensraum* was founded on the idea that the frontiers of a healthy nation-state must be constantly expanding while the borders of other less healthy nation-states must contract. In essence, it was a return to still-popular European ideas of territorially defined nationalism. Wilson's universalism, it turns out, had failed to take root. Within a generation, Europe was again at war.

Smith notes that by the beginning of the Second World War, however, Bowman had adopted Ratzel's idea of *Lebensraum*, this time modifying it into an economic variation of the original: an American *Lebensraum*:

Better than the American Century or the Pax Americana, the notion of an American *Lebensraum* captures the specific and historical geography of U.S. ascension to power. After World War II, global power would no longer be measured in terms of colonized land or power over territory. Rather, global power was measured in directly economic terms.

As with Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt had been a devoted internationalist seeking a new mode of universal politics, freed from what he saw as the Old World nonsense of colonialism, territorial power, and ethnic squabbling. Simultaneously, however, Roosevelt

possessed a nationalism that fit together well with Bowman's adoption of the idea of the *Lebensraum*, and by the end of the war, Smith tells us that "geo-economics supplanted geopolitics" and that the dominating concern, as had been with Wilson, was creating a new international order that would open the economies of the world, for geography was now an "economic question."

For Roosevelt, who according to Smith, coined the phrase "United Nations," the new order was to be maintained by a new global system of federalism that "would mediate geographically rooted struggles, conflicts, and skirmishes while global commerce proceeded apace." Where Wilson had failed, Roosevelt believed he would succeed, for in his mind he possessed better planning, better science, and perhaps most importantly, a better military apparatus than those who might keep the plan from coming to fruition.

Smith is clear that Roosevelt, Churchill, and (occasionally) Stalin devoted considerable time to creating a United Nations Organization that would be most likely to ensure truly global stability. Unlike with the Paris Peace Conference, where the USSR had not even been invited, Stalin was included in the negotiations, and the construction of the

Security Council with its inclusion of backward China and rotating members from the Third World and elsewhere did indeed make the UN a global organization where the League of Nations had been merely European and North American. At the heart of all of this, however, Smith maintains, is the American plan for a new global economic order to benefit American economic (and thus military and nationalist) interests and that ultimately "[i]n 1945, globalism, by definition, spoke with an American accent."

It didn't take long for good old fashioned political and cultural geography to

itary-industrial method of opening up new markets in foreign lands is necessarily a result of a deep-seated part of American culture.

Indeed, this may be what Smith wishes to tell us, since he does discuss Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine as precursors to the American *Lebensraum*. At the same time, the Monroe Doctrine is described as a "defensive" sort of American empire, while his American *Lebensraum* is described as an offensive one and thus a shift away from more traditional modes of thought in American geography.

SMITH NEVER CLARIFIES THE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE FRONTIERS OF THE AMERICAN WEST AND THE FRONTIERS OF THE AMERICAN CENTURY.

intervene. By 1950, the Cold War—a development that the creation of the UN was supposed to make impossible—was raging, and Bowman's and Roosevelt's dream of the constantly expanding economic frontier was once again in ruins.

As is evident in all of his work, Smith, like his fellow geographer Isaiah Bowman, is centrally concerned with the concept of the frontier. For both of them, when the American Western frontier closed, new economic ones had to be opened overseas. Unfortunately, though, Smith does not give us much insight into where the pressures for expanding these frontiers lay. One of Smith's central assumptions is that the supporters of the American *Lebensraum* desired a constantly expanding open market for American economic expansion, but we get little hint of the debate in the United States over whether or not it was wise to be forcing the expansion of markets through international strong-arm tactics directed by the United States. Smith never clarifies the qualitative difference (if any) between the frontiers of the American West and the frontiers of the American Century. Without this clarification, we are left with the assumption that the mil-

Whether the movement from the Monroe Doctrine and the Western frontier to a global *Lebensraum* is something that necessarily evolved from American culture is still fairly murky, and we are left wondering whether the American Century is the natural outcome or rather a corruption of previous doctrines.

Nevertheless, Smith does provide us with some of the most perceptive analysis of recent crucial and revolutionary periods in the development of American foreign policy. It is hard to miss some of the haunting parallels between today's presumptive foreign policy and the way Bowman's America thought it could circumvent ancient geographies and scientifically plan its way to the end of history. We see many of the same mistakes playing out in today's revolutionary period of globalization, and just as the two previous attempts at bringing a rational peace to all the world brought us the Second World War and the Cold War, so too—unless we cease trying to turn the world into an abstraction—will our current efforts bring a disastrous outcome. ■

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Disrobe for the Western Way



Earlier this month my son John-Taki celebrated his 22nd birthday. After a family dinner in a posh uptown restaurant, J.T., as he signs himself, went

back downtown to the bohemian squalor he chooses to live in. He is an artist (German Expressionism) who believes that true art can only be created while unshaven and surrounded by cockroaches. He and his artist friends had planned a late-night party in some downtown dive. I rang it, spoke to the barman-owner, got permission, and dispatched a high-class stripper to do what strippers do while he was cutting the cake. Everything went hunky-dory until the stripper began to undress. A large, drunk, fearsome-looking black man drinking at the bar objected. The boys were polite and told him they had permission. No go. "I'm a Muslim," said the fearsome one, "and this is against my religion." When J.T. told him that drinking, too, was a no-no where Muslims were concerned, the fearsome one threatened violence. The boys caved in, as did the barman. The stripper fled. End of party.

Now I ask you, dear readers, what in Allah's name is going on here? This country was created for just this reason. Religious tolerance. Just because some Muslims don't like booze—or women stripping, for that matter—does this give anyone the right to intimidate nice young people having a good time in a downtown dive? My son's incident was just a run-in with a drunken bully, but the moment he mentioned religion, everyone froze. This is what we've come to. The Muslim Inquisition in the Bowery.

A frenzied minority backed by the PC media have seized our culture of tolerance. Everything we learned as children

has been turned on its head: patriotism, Christianity, heterosexuality, crime and punishment. (After the ludicrous *Angels in America* reviews calling it the greatest play since *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *Faust* combined, the Mormons will be an endangered species and Ethel Rosenberg the new Joan of Arc.) Anything that appears in print or on the screen is judged by some imaginary person—Frank Rich will actually do quite nicely, thank you—who is gay, black, Latino, Asian, Native American, one-legged, a transsexual, and, of course, a lesbian.

In the name of religious tolerance we have come to expect as perfectly reasonable every manifestation of Muslim intolerance for any aspect of the Western way of life not to their liking. Yet if one expressed distaste at the sight of a Muslim woman covered from head to toe, it would be seen as a manifestation of intolerance. (Actually, some of them are so fat and ugly, I prefer them covered up.) The Tony Blairs of this world piously—and fraudulently—declare the Koran to be their favorite bedtime reading. The *New York Times* regularly informs its readers that Europeans and Americans—who complain that the mosques in whose vicinity they have to live are recruiting and training grounds for terrorists—are racist bigots.

There is no doubt in my mind, given the level of uncontrolled Islamic immigration into Europe and the United States and the much higher birth rate among Muslims than among the denizens of the "double income, no kids" West, that Sharia will become law in

many countries, as worthy of respect as common law or the Napoleonic code.

Many of the major cities in Europe already have a non-Western majority. In a few years mosques will boast much larger congregations than the Christian churches. Since many Muslims believe, contrary to Islam's apologists, that violence against nonbelievers is perfectly legitimate, bloody riots of the kind that are a daily occurrence on the Indian subcontinent or in Indonesia will soon be a part of everyday life here. The murderous rampage of Muslims during the Miss World pageant in Nigeria may soon be repeated in Atlantic City. (Mind you, Donald Trump is no chump; he'd teach the towelheads a lesson in manners rather quickly.) In France, Muslim groups demand that Algerian girls be allowed to have their heads covered in French state schools. In Italy, they demand that the cross be taken down from school classroom walls because Muslims find it offensive. In Germany, the courts have ruled that Muslim butchers be allowed to slaughter animals according to Islamic custom, by slitting their throats and letting them bleed to death without stunning them first. In England, one cannot use the word "towelhead," which is why I am using it as often as I can over here. (I wonder for how long, however.)

So, unlike my beloved J.T., I urge all of you to stand up for our Western way of life, even when a large bully is threatening. Mind you, my son did have a point when I told him he should have called the fuzz. "Anyone who doesn't have something that someone else has got is, by definition, a victim of prejudice," said the wise 22-year-old. "The cops would have taken his side, no question about it." Alas, he's probably right. ■